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BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY



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[PART I

Leading Articles

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY.

By DR. B. BHATTACHARYYA (BARODA).

Excellent books have been written on the Imperial Guptas by the late R. D. Banerji of Bengal and Mr. R. N. Dandekar of Poona, Gupta history is also ably set forth by H. C. Raychaudhuri and by my revered professor Radhagovinda Basak, in their respective works¹. These are some of the most authoritative books on the subject, but as

1 *The Age of the Imperial Guptas* by the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, M. A., Benares Hindu University, 1933 ; *A History of the Guptas* by R. N. Dandekar, M. A., Ph. D., Poona, 1941 ; *Political History of Ancient India*, by Hem-chandra Raychaudhuri, M. A., Ph. D., third revised edition, Calcutta, 1932 ; *The History of North-Eastern India* by Radhagovinda Basak, M. A., Ph. D., Calcutta, 1934 ; Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Studies in Gupta History* published in the Journal of Indian History as a University supplement is also an important contribution on the subject.

these are mainly compilations their decisions cannot be taken as final. Moreover, they are not only incomplete but are also full of inaccuracies and unanswered problems. Although recent compilations, the time has already come for a thorough revision of their contents.

Gupta history, as is at present known, is altogether inadequate. No one knows, for instance, who these Guptas were, where they came from, what was the nature of their origin or racial characteristics, how they came to Magadha, how they conquered it, how they started an era, who were the previous kings, whether the Magadha throne was vacant when they came or there was some king, and so forth. No one knows further what the condition of Magadha was before the Guptas became the rulers of the country. It is a modern fashion to say that up to the reign of the Guptas the history of Magadha was dark! These and many other questions have not been answered by any one of the many historians I have already named. Many are the superstitions that go into the heads of our school and college boys, in connection with this important chapter of our history and its unanswered problems.

For instance, we hear from authoritative quarters that Pāṭaliputra was most probably the political centre of the territory of Śrī Gupta and Ghaṭotkaca¹. Some say that Ghaṭotkaca was a local king ruling from Pāṭaliputra², and others

¹ Basak, op. cit., p. 6.

² Basak, op. cit., p. 7.

declare that Candragupta extended the ancestral kingdom of Pāṭaliputra ¹. Another authority points out that the Licchavis were masters of the ancient imperial city Pāṭaliputra ². Some others suggest that Kāca was an imperial Gupta king between Candragupta I and Samudragupta ³, unless he is identified with Ghaṭot-Kaca because of its 'Kaca' tail! But the most amusing of all superstitions is that Samudra Gupta was selected by Candragupta as the crown prince in an open durbar, when the father dramatically embraced the son, saying, "Verily (he is) worthy" ⁴. This superstition was started by Fleet and is repeated *ad nauseum* by his worthy successors. It may be remembered that the upper portion of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription has peeled off rather badly. It does not thus allow the context fully to be reconstructed. The inadequacy of proper context has given rise to this superstition which is still being hammered into the heads of our school and college boys. The real fact is that Samudra Gupta actually killed his father, as will be shown in the sequel. It was an embrace indeed—a fatal embrace!

It is a pity that we do not yet know the exact number of kings forming the line of the Imperial Guptas, nor do we know the exact titles or

¹ Basak, op. cit., p. 7.

² Smith's opinion quoted in Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 361.

³ Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 363. Identified Kāca with Samudra Gupta. Dandekar, op. cit., p. 22.

⁴ J. F. Fleet. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Vol. III, p. 11 and p. 12, note 1.

appellations of these emperors. If we had exerted little we could have cleared all these points, and could get over all the superstitious theories and beliefs, in order to make the Gupta history purer and truer. To that end we have to ransack the Purāṇas both printed and handwritten. If these had been studied even with a hundredth part of the care we bestow on coins and inscriptions, the problems above stated would have resolved themselves with ease. But that we cannot do, because the Purāṇas are like untouchables to a respectable scholar. We cannot go to the Purāṇas for inspiration because European scholars have condemned them as unreliable and not worthy of respect. *Guru-droha* in any form is reprehensible, since that is the injunction of the Upaniṣads. Thus in spite of handy materials we prefer to remain blind, and that is why excellent treatises on the Guptas become unreliable, even misleading, almost immediately after publication.

I shall show here how a neglected Purāṇa throws a flood of light on the history of the Guptas in less than 30 stanzas, and set at rest most of the controversies that are now raging amongst the Gupta historians.

Detailed information on the subject comes from a work called the *Kaliyuga-rāja-vṛttānta* which is a part of the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*. Although I have not got an opportunity to consult the work *in extenso* as yet, I read some of the extracts quoted in the introduction to his *History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Madras, 1937) by M. Krishnamachariar, and was struck by the wealth and

originality of the information contained therein. Unfortunately, M. Krishnamachariar assumed that Samudra Gupta is the same as Sandrakottas of the Greeks and put him in 321-270 B. C.¹ Thus he completely missed the significance and importance of the passages in question.

In this brief paper it is my aim to show how the passages of the *Kaliyuga-rāja-vṛttānta* relate to the Gupta imperial history, and supplement and correct our existing knowledge on the subject.

The *Kaliyuga-rāja-vṛttānta* which is a part of the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* describes the Gupta lineage in the following manner. I shall here give the verses with translations and my comment. The first verse in the Gupta series is:—

(1)

*Atha śrī-candra-guṇṭākhyaḥ pārvatīya-kulodbhavaḥ ;
Śrī parvatendrādhipateḥ pautraḥ śrī-guṇṭābhupāteḥ.*

“NOW IS DESCRIBED THE KING BY NAME ŚRĪ CANDRA GUPTA WHO WILL BE BORN IN THE DYNASTY OF THE PARVATĪYAS (HILLMEN) AS GRANDSON OF KING ŚRĪ GUPTA THE LORD OF ŚRĪPARVATA”.

This passage clearly shows the origin of the Gupta family ; they belonged to the hillman tribe. Śrīparvata is mentioned in connection with the

1 M. Krishnamachariar : op. cit. introduction, p. cviii. Here he mentions that the Allahabad pillar is the pillar of Samudragupta Aśoka Priyadarśin, i. e., Samudra Gupta, Aśoka and Priyadarśin—all were the names of the same king.

history of the Eighty-Four Siddhas ¹, and the Tibetans were better acquainted with the place than us. Śrīparvata has not been identified beyond a doubt, but for the present we may take it to be somewhere in the Himalayan regions adjacent to the Nepal country. It may also be noted that since the Guptas belonged to the hillman tribe, they were very bold, courageous, valiant and daring—like the Mongols. In their marriage customs as also in their ideas of morality and decency they were rather lax, and never cared for the orthodox injunctions and prohibitions. They came from a country where both polygamy and polyandry were in vogue since very early times. Thus if any one of the imperial Guptas makes a brother's wife his own queen, there is nothing surprising in it. If any one marries more than once he does not transgress social rules. They can marry anywhere and in any family ². By this they do not infringe any of their marriage laws nor become ashamed of their conduct. The Guptas have to be studied from their own angle of vision, not at all from the orthodox Brahmanical standpoint. It may also be remembered that on account of their being Paharis the Guptas were abjectly superstitious. They believed in the influence of planets and stars, and in ghosts and

¹ A. Grunwedel : (*Mahāsiddhas*) p. 213 under Siddha No.74 Śaṅkara ; and P. 222 under Siddha No.84 Vyāli.

² e. g. Candra Gupta II marrying Rāma Gupta's wife Dhruvadevi. Candra Gupta I and II married twice. Guptas married Licchavis and Nāgas, and gave a daughter to the Vākāṭakas.

goblins, and were capable of making serious efforts to please them by special worship and offerings¹.

The second verse gives details of Candra Gupta's first marriage connections.

(2)

*Śrī-ghaṭot-kaca-guptyasya tanayo-mita-vikramah ;
Kumāradevīm udvāhya nepālādhiśituh sutām.*

"HE (CANDRA GUPTA) WILL BE THE SON OF ŚRĪ GHATOTKACA GUPTA AND WILL BE OF UNSURPASSED VALOUR. HE WILL MARRY KUMĀRADEVĪ THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF NEPAL".

This verse shows that Kumāradevī was the daughter of the king of Nepal. Samudra Gupta used to take pride in the fact that he was the *dauhitra* (daughter's son) of the Licchavi. Thus it becomes clear that Samudra Gupta's grandfather was not only a Licchavi but also the king of Nepal. In the beginning of the 4th century A. D. Nepal was under the Licchavis and the ruling king was friendly to the Guptas.

The third verse continues to give information on Candra Gupta.

1. Compare the statement of Devicandra Gupta quoted in the G. O. S. edition of Nāṭyadarpaṇa. According to this, Candra Gupta II used to go at dead of night to a forest to propitiate Vetāla. Varāhamihira was his astrological advisor. See my paper on Vikramāditya and Nine Gems in the forthcoming *Vikrama Commemoration Volume*. See also I. C., Vol. VI, P. 382.

(3)

*Labdhapraveśo rājye' sminlicchavnīām sahāyataḥ ;
Senādhyakṣapadaṁ prāpya nānā-sainya-samanvitaḥ .*
"HE (CANDRA GUPTA) WILL CARRY
INFLUENCE IN THIS KINGDOM (OF
MAGADHA) WITH THE HELP OF THE
LICCHAVIS, AND WILL BECOME THE
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF WITH A LARGE
ARMY".

Candra Gupta after his marriage with Kumāradevī became a favourite of the Licchavi clan, and with the help of its leaders got an entry into the kingdom of Magadha, and soon rose to be the commander-in-chief having command over a large army. It further shows that the Licchavis had great influence with the government of Magadha and were friendly with the king who, as we shall show later on, belonged to the Andhra dynasty. This also shows the ingenious method adopted by Candra Gupta in having, in the first instance, the command over the army—the vital machinery of a government.

The fourth verse gives details of further developments.

(4)

*Licchavīyām samudvāhya devyāś-candraśriyo'nujām ;
Rāṣṭrīya-śyālako bhūtvā rājapatnyā ca coditaḥ .*
"HE (CANDRA GUPTA) WILL NEXT
MARRY A LICCHAVI GIRL WHO WILL
BE THE YOUNGER SISTER OF THE
QUEEN OF CANDRAŚRĪ AND WILL BE
THE BROTHER-IN-LAW OF THE KING

IN THIS MANNER. AFTER BEING INSTIGATED BY THE QUEEN AND....”.

This verse unfolds the story that Candra Gupta was not satisfied with the position of the chief commander in the Āndhra regime, but in order to gain more influence with the palace started an intrigue with the queen of Candrasrī—the Āndhra king of Magadha. As a direct result of the intrigue Candra Gupta married a sister of the queen belonging to the Licchavi clan. This shows further that the Āndhra king Candrasrī was familiar with the Licchavis after having already taken a Licchavi girl as his queen. Whether all the three—Kumāradevī, the queen of Candrasrī and the second wife of Candra Gupta—were daughters of the ruling house of Nepal we have now no means to ascertain. * Except Kumāradevī, it is not at all necessary to assume that the other two also belonged to the ruling house of Nepal. They might have been the two daughters of the head of another Licchavi clan.

By his second marriage Candra Gupta became the brother-in-law of king Candrasrī, and thus had unfettered access to the Magadha palace and its intrigues. The queen was on Candra Gupta's side, and even though much time has elapsed these few dry lines of the Purāṇa can even now make us visualize the grim effect of the intrigues that were going on in the palace, and the terrible clouds that were hanging round it in order to bring about the sad destiny that was awaiting Candrasrī and the Āndhra dynasty of Magadha.

In the fifth stanza the Purāṇa records the dramatic and violent effect of the intrigue.

(5)

*Candraśrīyam ghātayitvā miṣenaiva hi kenacit ;
Tatputra-pratibhūtvē ca rājñyā caiva niyojitaḥ.*

"....AFTER HAVING KILLED CANDRAŚRĪ BY SOME STRATEGEM HE (CANDRA GUPTA) WILL BE ENGAGED BY THE QUEEN AS REGENT IN THE PLACE OF HER SON".

The result of the intrigue was that king Candraśrī was killed by Candra Gupta with the full knowledge and concurrence of the queen, although it is not so stated in clear terms in the Purāṇa. The Purāṇa does not also reveal the nature of the strategem, but it must have been something revolting to the human sense of decency.

But one thing is clear. In this secret murder Candra Gupta was not discovered, and Candraśrī's disappearance passed as more or less a natural death. This is evident from what followed. Candraśrī left a young son who must have been a minor then, and was incapable of ruling by himself. So a regent was necessary, and who could be the fittest regent in the palace except Candra Gupta ? The queen did not quite feel sure of the ground ; she therefore asked Candra Gupta to work as regent and take care of the young king. Candra Gupta took care of the king as a cat takes care of the mouse.

The result of this excellent arrangement is shown in the next verse.

(6)

*Varṣaistu saptaabhīḥ prāptarājyo virāgrañirasau ;
Taiputram ca pulomānam vinihatya nṛpārḥakam.*

“HE (CANDRA GUPTA) THE LEADER AMONGST THE HEROES WILL OBTAIN THE KINGDOM (OF MAGADHA) IN SEVEN YEARS AFTER HAVING KILLED THE YOUNG KING PULOMAN THE SON OF CANDRAŚRĪ”.

This verse shows that king Candraśrī of Magadha left one son by name Puloman who ruled under the regency of Candra Gupta for seven years. In these seven long years Candra Gupta was successful in having complete control of the government machinery. It was no longer necessary to keep the young king Puloman alive, or for him to work as the regent. The time was ripe for Puloman to go. Candra Gupta dealt him the fatal blow, and he met with a violent death. It is thus apparent that after Candraśrī's death Puloman was king of Magadha for seven years, at least nominally, and thus his reign would extend from A. D. 313 to A. D. 320 when the Gupta era was started. Candraśrī's death thus will have to be put down in 313 A. D.

The verse under reference further proves that the Guptas did not fall down from the skies on the vacant throne of Magadha in the mysterious city of Pāṭaliputra of the dark period of Indian history !

The next verse gives an account of the further consequences of the bold action of Candra Gupta.

(7)

*Andhrebhyo māgadham rājyam prasahyāpaha-viśyati;
Kacena svena putreṇa licchaviyena samyutah.*

“HE (CANDRA GUPTA) WILL FORCIBLY CAPTURE THE KINGDOM OF MAGADHA FROM THE ĀNDRAS AND WILL RULE CONJOINTLY WITH HIS OWN SON KACA BORN OF THE LICCHAVI WIFE”.

This verse makes the contents of the previous verse clearer. The Guptas forcibly took the kingdom of Magadha from the Āndhras; that is to say, the kingdom of Magadha belonged to the Āndhras before the Guptas came into power.¹ The kingdom was taken in a violent manner. The first violent action was the killing of the young king Puloman. The next violent action usually is, although not clearly stated, to kill all relatives and supporters of the previous regime. The Purāṇa does not mention the fate of the queen of Candraśrī—the vile woman whose name is not mentioned lest it may pollute the posterity—during the turmoil. We can only presume that the Pāṭaliputra palace must have turned bloody when Candra Gupta was engaged in a purge of the last remnants of the previous regime.

But one thing appears to be certain. Candra Gupta lived with his Licchavi wife and her son

1. The dark period of Indian history is really the history of the Āndhra kings. Here again the Purāṇas are likely to throw considerable light. I hope to write an article on this subject later on.

Kāca in the same place. What happened to Kumāradevī we do not know. She must have been severely neglected and ill-treated by Candra Gupta and his unholy gang including Kāca and his mother. The Purāṇa appears to give some hint about her later on.

Here it is necessary to refer to the fact that the name of Kaca or Kāca is already known to the Gupta historians on account of some gold coins bearing the name of Kāca which has cost our scholars no end of trouble.¹ Here the explanation is simple. According to the Purāṇa, Kaca was the son of Candra Gupta by his Licchavi wife. The Purāṇa further states that Candra Gupta ruled jointly with his son Kaca, and this means that both the father and the son were entitled to issue coins in their own names, and did issue them for the seven years they were ruling together. The name is, however, spelt in the Purāṇa as Kaca and not as Kāca as read on coins by the numismatists, but I believe this circumstance should not present serious difficulties in identifying the two.

The next verse gives the duration of the reign of Candra Gupta and his special title.

1. Raychaudhuri, p. cit., p. 363; Banerji, op. cit., p. 9; Dandekar, op. cit., p. 40, 41.; Rapson intuitively took Kāca to be a brother of Samudra Gupta, but he was wrong in attributing to him a short reign period. The fact is that Candra Gupta ruled jointly with Kaca for seven years.

(8)

*Vijayādityanāmnā tu sapta pālayitā samāh;
Svanāmnā ca śakam tvekam sthāpayiṣyati bhūtale.*

“ HE (CANDRA GUPTA) WILL REIGN FOR SEVEN YEARS WITH THE TITLE OF VIJAYADITYA (VICTORIOUS SUN-GOD). HE WILL ESTABLISH AN ERA ON EARTH IN HIS OWN NAME ”.

This verse gives the helpful information that Candra Gupta ruled for seven years, that is to say, from A. D. 320 to 327 (8 G. E.). R. D. Banerji expresses surprise at seeing Samudra Gupta ruling in 9 G. E. in an inscription from Bodh Gaya.¹ Some intelligent scholars wanted to declare the inscription where this information occurs as a forgery or an unreliable document.² But R. D. Banerji was not a party to that. If Candra Gupta's reign lasts only for seven years, we can reasonably expect to find Samudra Gupta even in 8 G. E. This incidentally explains another point that Candra Gupta started the era from the date of his accession, and that the era did not start from the time of his death. Rather, the regnal years of Candra Gupta continued as the Gupta era in subsequent reigns and a long time thereafter.

It may be noticed further that Candra Gupta had a second name in *Vijayāditya*, that is to say, the title of *Vijayāditya* was given to him by the

1. R. D. Banerji, op. cit., p. 7 f.

2. Fleet considered it spurious, and Raychaudhuri, unreliable. Banerji, op. cit. p. 7; Raychaudhuri, op. cit.

Pandits in his court. This practice of giving a distinctive title continued till the last days of the Gupta imperial dynasty as we shall see later on. The coins and inscriptions may give a variety of adjectives in token of flattery but these should not be taken as appellations or titles. The Gupta historians have unfortunately mixed up appellations with ordinary adjectives, and thereby missed the real significance of the second names. In one book I find several Gupta kings are collected together and described as *Vikramādityas* under a special chapter. This is manifestly misleading,¹ since amongst the Gupta emperors Candragupta II was the only king who bore the title of *Vikramāditya*. Kumāragupta was *Mahendrāditya* and his son Skandagupta was *Parākramāditya*. It has taken us a long time in spotting the *Vikramāditya Śakāri* in whose court the Nine Gems flourished. The chief reason seems to be that we take these appellations and titles rather lightly, and because we are unable to distinguish between a title and an ordinary adjective. More care in this respect is necessary.

The verse further states that Candragupta started a Śaka in his own name. I pointedly draw the attention of scholars to the word 'Śaka' here which means an *era* and not the Śaka era. It is a mistake to think that wherever the word 'Śaka' occurs it must be taken as an equivalent to the Śaka era. This has given rise to such a great chronological confusion, that a time has come when

¹ Raychaudhuri : op. cit. p. 376 f.

all dates in Śaka era, both in inscriptions and in literature, should be critically re-examined.

It is further stated in the verse under reference that Chandra Gupta started an era in his own name. Thus we can presume that the era was originally known as the Chandra Gupta era, and it was later shortened to Gupta era or the *Gauṭtabda*. If the Purāṇas are examined critically and with imagination it will be possible to assert that it was Samudra Gupta who dropped the name of 'Candra' from the era and converted it into a simple Gupta era. Candra Gupta earned a bad name by his repeated vile actions. Samudra Gupta was obliged to kill his father, and how could it be possible for him to associate his father's name with the era ! Samudra Gupta may have allowed exaggerated accounts of his father's iniquities to be published, in order to have a sort of justification for his own patricide. A patricide ceases to be such a horrible iniquity if the father can himself (rightly or wrongly) be described as a monster of iniquity. Instead of continuing it as a personal era it must have been turned into a dynastic era by Samudra Gupta. The description of Candra Gupta is completed in these eight verses of the Bhaviṣyot-tara Purāṇa.

The next few verses relate to the exploits of his son Samudra Gupta.

(9)

*Ekacchatraś-cakravartī putras-tasya mahāyasāḥ ;
Nepālādhīśa-dauhitro mlechha-sainyaḥ samāvṛtaḥ.*

‘ HIS SON (SAMUDRA GUPTA), LIKEWISE THE SON OF THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF NEPAL, WILL BECOME FAMOUS, WILL BRING MANY KINGS UNDER HIS UMBRELLA AND WILL BECOME A CAKRAVARTI KING. SURROUNDED BY MLECCHA SOLDIERS (HE WILL SLAY HIS FATHER) ’.

This verse gives an account of Samudra Gupta the son of Candra Gupta. He is described as the daughter's son of the king of Nepal, that is to say, the son of Kumāradevī who was the daughter of the king of Nepal. So long we were being told about the second wife of Candra Gupta of the Licchavi clan. Apparently, Kumāradevī was neglected or even ill-treated by Candra Gupta who was ruling conjointly with Kaca although Samudra Gupta was the son of his first wife Kumāradevī. Candra Gupta not only ill-treated Kumāradevī but also her son Samudra Gupta, and thus created a great opposition against himself and Kaca along with the Licchavi wife. This opposition developed into an open insurrection which ended in the violent death of Candra Gupta and his supporters at the hand of Samudra Gupta. This will be dealt with further in the next verse.

Samudra Gupta gathered together a band of Mleccha soldiers. We do not know wherefrom these soldiers came, and how Samudra Gupta could bring them on his side, but it cannot be denied that the Mlecchas were rampant in the kingdom, and they were carrying on intrigues with the dissatisfied prince during the reign of his father

Candra Gupta. It also appears probable that in raising a Mleccha army his grandfather the king of Nepal must have rendered effective assistance.

The word Mleccha may mean 'foreigners' consisting of the remnants of the foreign invaders such as the Śakas, Yavanas, White Huns and so forth, but it is also possible that the army raised by Samudra Gupta belonged to the Mleccha country, which included among others, Aṅga, Vāṅga, Kalinga and parts of Magadha, that is to say, the army of the local inhabitants of Magadha and outlying countries who showed active sympathy towards Samudra Gupta, the legitimate heir to the throne of Magadha, against Candra Gupta who was not only an usurper himself but also had a career, either really black or capable of being easily represented as such.

Samudra Gupta in this verse is described as of great fame, as an Ekacchatra emperor, and as a Cakravartī king. Thus Samudra Gupta was the first Gupta king who could attain the position of an emperor, by bringing under his umbrella a large number of smaller kings, and thus obtained great fame.

The next verse gives the sad end of Candra Gupta and his associates, as also his title.

(10)

*Vaṅcakam pitaram hatvā saha-putram sabāndha-vaṁ ;
Aśokādityanāmnā tu prakhyāto jagatītale.*

"HE (SAMUDRA GUPTA) WILL BE FAMOUS IN THE WORLD AS AŚOKĀ-DITYA (SORROWLESS SUN-GOD) AFTER

HAVING KILLED HIS FATHER WHO WAS A CHEAT, ALONG WITH HIS SONS AND RELATIVES".

Candra Gupta is here described as a 'cheat (*vañcaka*), and his career above described amply proves it. His career was black; he cheated Candraśrī the Āndhra king and his son Puloman. He devoured the kingdom which he was protecting as a regent. He killed two kings, Candraśrī and his son Puloman. He cheated Kumāradevī his first wife, as also Samudra Gupta by allowing Kaca to rule along with himself. All these cannot go unpunished. His son Samudra Gupta meted out to him that punishment which he so well deserved.

Surrounded by Mleccha soldiers and armed with the sympathy of the local inhabitants, he attacked the palace, killed every one found therein with violence. There was a second purge. As a result Chandra Gupta, his son Kaca and perhaps the Licchavi wife and all other unnamed relatives and supporters succumbed to the fury of his ferocious onslaught. Under the circumstances if we say that with tears in his eyes, Candra Gupta appointed Samudra Gupta as the heir-apparent in an open Durbar, exclaiming "Verily (he is) worthy" we are saying something that is altogether ridiculous. But it is possible to suggest that this passage in the Allahabad Prasasti refers to the next heir-apparent, *i. e.* Candra Gupta II, the son of Samudra Gupta.

Thus Samudra Gupta became king. The Brāhmaṇa Pandits in his court gave him the

significant title of *Aśokāditya* on the analogy of the great Maurya king Asoka just to stress the similarity of *modus operandi* in the two cases.

The next verse delineates the later history of Samudra Gupta.

(11)

*Svayam vigataśokaśca mātaram cābhinandayan;
Samudragupto bhavitā sārvaabhaumas-tataḥ param.*

“HIMSELF BEREFT OF SORROW
AND HAVING PLEASED HIS MOTHER
SAMUDRA GUPTA THEREAFTER WILL
BECOME A SĀRVABHAUMA KING”.

In this verse an explanation is given for his peculiar title *Aśokāditya*. Samudra Gupta was bereft of sorrow and had no mourning. There was no question of mourning in his case, since he himself killed his father along with other relatives. His hatred for his father, half-brother and other supporters was supreme. Thus when they were all killed he was rather pleased and this accounts for the absence of mourning. In all other cases death of father and relatives is a matter for sorrow, but in the case of Samudra Gupta it was not so, and hence the title *Aśokāditya*. At the same time, it must be remembered that he was like the earlier Maurya emperor Asoka who likewise obtained the throne of Magadha after a political and domestic purge.

Samudra Gupta's mother was pleased. Kumāradevī, as we can imagine, was very unhappy during Candragupta's reign, and whatever solace and happiness she had, came from Samudra Gupta

her son and solitary helper. Kaca and his mother must have treated her very badly, and that is why when Samudra Gupta finished with the lot, the Purāṇa makes the significant remark that thereby Samudra Gupta pleased his mother.

After this event Samudra Gupta became an emperor or Sārvabhauma, or the lord of the whole of the Mahī Maṇḍala having a large number of smaller kings subordinate to him and acknowledging his suzerainty.

The next verse gives the exploits of Samudra Gupta.

(12)

*Vijitya sakalām-urvīm dharmaputra ivāparah ;
Samāharannaśvamedham yathāśāstraṁ dvijottamaih.*

“AFTER CONQUERING THE WHOLE EARTH AND AFTER THE EXCELLENT BRĀHMAṆS HAD PERFORMED THE AŚVAMEDHA SACRIFICE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES PRESCRIBED IN THE SCRIPTURES, HE (SAMUDRA GUPTA) BECAME THE SECOND SON OF DHARMA”.

This verse enumerates the method by which Samudra Gupta became a Sārvabhauma king. He called together a number of learned and pious Brāhmaṇas and made them perform a horse sacrifice for him in accordance with the rules embodied in the scriptures. In this matter he was like Yudhiṣṭhira who was supposed to be the son of Dharma, or in other words, an embodiment

of Dharma on earth. The religious rites were done with the greatest care and devotion.

The Aśvamedha sacrifice shows two things. Firstly, that the hillman king adopted the Brahmanical culture and way of life, and set an example for the people to follow, that is to say, Hinduism was adopted as the State religion as against any foreign religion and culture. His Hinduism included Buddhism and Jainism which were regarded more or less as branches of Hindu culture. The horse sacrifice further shows that the king was bent on conquests. It was the custom with the energetic kings to let loose the horse consecrated in an Aśvamedha and follow it with a powerful army. If the horse is molested anywhere, war follows, and thus an extension of dominions takes place. Samudra Gupta met with opposition from all quarters, and the Allahabad inscription records the story of how they were all vanquished by Samudra Gupta's power of arms. All that story is already known,¹ and it is not necessary to deal with it here in detail.

The next verse gives an account of the homage paid to him by kings, both internal and foreign, as also of his literary leanings.

(13)

*Svadeśīyair-videśīyair-nṛpaiḥ samabhipūjitaḥ ;
Sāstra-sāhitya-saṅgīta-rasikaḥ kavibhiḥ stutaḥ .*

1. For an excellent account of his conquests as recorded in the Allahabad pillar inscription, see Raychaudhuri: op cit. pp. 363 f; also Banerji, op. cit. pp. 13 f.

"HE (SAMUDRA GUPTA) WILL BE HIGHLY HONOURED BY KINGS BOTH INDIAN AND FOREIGN; HE WILL BE WELL-VERSED IN THE ŚĀSTRAS, LITERATURE AND MUSIC, AND WILL BE EULOGISED BY POETS".

That Samudra Gupta should have been honoured by internal kings was natural, since he came in armed conflict with a large number of kings when he started on his career of conquest. The Allahabad inscription also stands witness to this honour which took various forms including presents of daughters from the kings.

Samudra Gupta was honoured by foreign kings also. We hear of embassies coming from foreign countries to the court of Samudra Gupta, apparently to pay homage to a great king who was not only a great conqueror but also an excellent administrator. Raychauduri¹ states that the foreign powers who established diplomatic relations with Samudra Gupta were the Daivaputra Śāhi-Śāhānu-Śāhi and the Śaka Muruṇḍas as well as the people of Simhala and all other dwellers in islands. King Meghavarna of Ceylon sent an embassy to his court according to a Chinese historian.²

Besides this, Samudra Gupta was an accomplished king with a high culture. He knew the Śāstras, that is to say, the Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa Śāstras. These were the Śāstras of

1 op. cit, p. 373.

2 Ibid.

essential knowledge and as such, Samudra Gupta must have been well-versed in these. He knew literature and must have studied the Kāvyaś, Nāṭakas, Kathās etc., available in his time, and perhaps the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata also. In addition to these, he was well-versed in Music, that is to say, he used to sing, handled musical instruments, cultivated music and was a renowned musician. His renown must have been well established, otherwise the Purāṇa would not have mentioned this particular quality of Samudra Gupta. The years he spent with his mother away from Magdha Court and in disfavour gave him ample opportunity, and he thus availed himself of it to become a man of all-round learning before he came to the throne. He was praised by poets, according to the Purāṇa. To-day we have not much of the evidence, except the brilliant account of Samudra Gupta as given by Hariṣeṇa, the author of the Allahabad Prasasti.

The next or the concluding verse on Samudra Gupta gives the period of his reign.

(14)

*Samudra-guptaḥ pṛthivīm catuḥ-sāgara-veṣṭitām ;
Pañcāśatām tathā caikam bhokṣyatyevaikaṛāt samāḥ*

“SAMUDRA GUPTA WILL ENJOY
THE EARTH SURROUNDED BY THE
FOUR SEAS WITHOUT A RIVAL FOR
FIFTY-ONE YEARS”.

The extent of his territory is here mentioned, and appears to be a bit exaggerated. We have

to understand that his empire was extensive, but it did not extend to the four seas. This is physically impossible. The Śakas were at Ujjain and held sway right upto Kathiawad. In the south were also great kings, and in the west there were the powerful Vākātakas. These cannot be said to have been brought completely under control by Samudra Gupta.

This king ruled for fifty-one years. We have seen that Candragupta was killed in 327 A.D. Thus from 327 A. D. to 378 A. D. (G. E. 59) Samudra Gupta ruled. This is a new and definite fact and deserves to be noted. Candragupta II begins his reign in 378 A. D. calculating backwards we may perhaps guess that Samudra Gupta was born sometime after Candragupta I married the Nepalese princess Kumāradevi about 300/305 A. D. so that he was not even eighty in 378 A. D. His reign of 51 years thus is quite a probable event.¹

The next four verses give an account of Samudra Gupta's successor Candragupta II who was probably appointed by his father as an heir-apparent during his life time. The Allahabad pillar inscription refers to this event. Out of the four verses allotted to Candragupta II the first gives his exploits.

(15)

*Tasya putro' -paraś-candra-guṭṭākhya vīrakeśari;
Yavanāṁśca tathā hūṇān deśād-vidrāvayan balāt.*

1 Except the Bodhi Gaya inscription dated 9 G. E. no other dated inscription of Samudra Gupta is known.

"HIS (SAMUDRA GUPTA'S) SON CANDRA GUPTA II A LION AMONG HEROES WILL REMOVE THE YAVANAS AND THE HŪNAS FROM THE COUNTRY BY THE FORCE OF ARMS".

Here in this verse the word 'vidrāvayan' signifies something more than mere removal. He made them 'run' for their lives. The hostile tribes had to flee in all possible haste. His armies drove and scattered them as a 'lion' drives all other beasts in the forest.

It may however be noted that the words Yavana and Hūna are loosely used. They do not represent any particular tribe or race, but they signify foreigners in general, who are anti-Brahmanic in their culture, and do everything possible to damage it, by introducing their own manners and customs which are revolting to the Hindu community. Here therefore there is a clear indication that Candragupta II drove away foreigners from the country. Candragupta in his life succeeded in removing the Śakas from Ujjayinī and Kathiawad, and thus made almost the whole of Western India free from Śaka influence and pollution. This removal was done not by ordinary means of persuasion but by force of arms.

The Śakas and Yavanas were included in the Purāṇic term 'Mleccha'. They not only disregarded the orthodox system (the Vedic holiness) but they imposed a system of social tyranny. The country under them was encouraged or forced

to follow their manners, ethics and religious theories. They exacted illegal taxes, they killed and massacred even women and children, and also cows. They killed Brāhmaṇas; they took away the wives and wealth of others. They were never formally crowned and indulged in constant dynastic feuds amongst themselves. With regard to the Yavanas the Purāṇas say that there will be Yavanas in the country propelled by religious zeal, ambition and greed, who will be of short whims, untruthful, of great anger and unrighteous. The Aryan population will become mixed with the Mlecchas and the people would decay.¹

The Purāṇas for a long time raised a cry against these unclean, unholy and disreputable foreigners. Their SOS was answered by the mighty Hindu king Candra Gupta II, and he by the might of his arms, completely rid the country of all pollution consequent on foreign domination, and brought permanent relief to the people of Āryāvarta. It was a signal service to the country.

Candra Gupta II's greatness lies in this. Thus he was the only Vikramāditya 'Mighty Sun-God' in the Gupta line. His greatness was sung by all without exception, by poets, mathematicians; astrologers, dramatists, and the authors of the Purāṇas.

¹ For a detailed account of the Mleccha rule and Yavana pollution, see Jayaswal: *History of India 150 A. D.-350 A. D.* pp. 151 ff.

The next verse gives the attainments and accomplishments of the great king, the greatest among the Guptas.

(16)

*Vikramādityavan-nityam paṇḍitair parisevitāḥ ;
Śruti-smṛti-purāṇe-tihāsa-kāvya-vicakṣaṇāḥ.*

"HE (CANDRA GUPTA) WILL BE CONSTANTLY SURRONUDED BY LEARNED MEN LIKE THE VALOROUS SUN-GOD AND WILL BE AN EXPERT IN THE VEDAS, THE LAW-BOOKS; THE PURĀNAS, HISTORY AND POETRY".

Here to my mind the similé is with the Sun-God who is always surrounded by the planets which are supposed to be the repositories of the different sciences. The simile does not apply to some old fossilized Vikramāditya who may have flourished before him.¹ The Pandits were the planets on earth, and Candra Gupta II was the second Sun-God, because he was constantly surrounded by learned men. The tradition that there were Nine Gems in the court of Vikramāditya appears to have its origin in his appellation of Āditya, or the Sun, in the centre of the planetary system. Astrology recognizes nine planets in all. The nine gems in his court represented the nine planets including the Sun. That seems to be the origin

¹ For instance, the Vikramāditya referred to in Hāla's *Saptasati*, who is supposed to have given a lakh to a person who shampooed his legs. This may show generosity but no scholarship or discrimination on the part of Vikramāditya.

of the idea of the Nine Gems of Vikramāditya. It is well-known that the planets represent different Vidyās; for instance, Jupiter stands for Law, Mercury for Mathematics and Engineering, Mars for Surgery and medicine, and Venus for poetry and fine arts, and so forth. So figuratively the Sun-God may be said to be surrounded by learned men. Candra Gupta II is compared to the Sun-God as he was constantly surrounded by learned men.

Candra Gupta II was not only a patron of leaned men, but himself possessed phenomenal learning, as is evident from the number of Śāstras in which he was expert. If the king is not himself learned, it is not possible for him to recognise merit in others. As Candra Gupta II was himself learned, he could immediately discover where there was merit, and owing to this fact the best talents India produced at that time in the different branches of learning naturally tended to be drawn to his court and to remain there.

Candra Gupta knew the Śrutis, meaning thereby the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas and Upniṣads then current, besides probably the Dharma, Gṛhya, Kalpa and Śrauta Sūtras. He knew the Smṛtis, that is to say, the metrical Smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya and some of the earlier commentaries on them, and a few others. He knew the Purāṇas, and the traditional number of these is eighteen besides several Upa-Purāṇas. As most of these Purāṇas give the genealogy of the Gupta kings,

it can be surmised that these were revised in Candragupta II's time as also in later reigns. Candragupta II in this verse is said to be an expert in Itihāsa or history. The word in olden days applied to the two great epics the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. He was finally an expert in Kāvya or poetry. In this all embracing term are included the Mahākāvyas, short poems, the drama and the sciences of poetics and dramaturgy. Candragupta II must have been a great poet and is said to have paid high encomiums to the works of Kālidāsa.¹ We know from Rājasekhara that Candragupta was himself examined at Ujjayinī before he obtained fame as a poet.²

Thus Candragupta II, unlike other kings, was a scholar of high eminence, and this aspect of his training must have been reflected in his administration, and in bringing about a golden age in Indian life, and in the field of literature and culture.

The next verse shows the title of Candragupta II, and his conquests.

(17)

*Vikramāditya ityeva bhuvaneṣu prathām gataḥ ;
Saptasindhūn samuttīrya vāhlikādīn vijitya ca.*

¹ *Rāmācarita*, G. O. S. edited by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, ch. xxii, verse 100-*khyātim kāmapi kālidāsa-kṛtayo nīlāḥ Sakārātinā*.

² *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, 3rd edition by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri p. 55, and introduction, p. xxxvii, and notes on the above.

“HE (CANDRA GUPTA II) WILL BECOME FAMOUS IN THE WORLD BY HIS TITLE OF VIKRAMĀDITYA (THE VALOROUS SUN-GOD). BY CROSSING THE SEVEN RIVERS AND BY CONQUERING THE VĀHLĪKAS AND OTHER TRIBES, AND”:

This verse gives the distinctive title of *Vikramāditya* to Candra Gupta II, that is to say, Candra Gupta II was the only *Vikramāditya* amongst the Gupta emperors. This title cannot be assigned to any other king. It is possible that many kings had assumed the title before and after him, but in the estimation of the world there was but one *Vikramāditya*, peerless and unrivalled. It is, therefore, futile to search for a phantom or a secret *Vikramāditya* at any other time in the history of North India.

Candra Gupta II extended his dominions. He crossed the seven Sindhus or the seven rivers of the Punjab and conquered the *Vāhlīkas* and other turbulent tribes. Here again, the word ‘*Vāhlīka*’ indicates all miscellaneous tribes living beyond the Punjab. In my humble opinion this term does not mean that Candra Gupta invaded Balkh and conquered the place along with its people.

The next verse gives the information that Candra Gupta II extended his dominions upto the Saurāṣṭra country, and mentions the duration of his reign.

(18)

*Surāstradeśaparyantaṁ Kīrttistambhaṁ samuc-
chrayan; Śattrimśad-bhoksyati samās-tuckacchatvāṁ
vasundharāṁ.*

“HAVING RAISED PILLARS OF FAME
UPTO THE SURĀSTRA COUNTRY HE
(CANDRA GUPTA II) WILL ENJOY THE
EARTH UNDER ONE UMBRELLA FOR
THIRTY-SIX YEARS”.

According to this verse Candra Gupta II had
extended his dominions right upto the Arabian
sea to include the country known as Surāstra or
Kathiawad. The country was directly under his
control, and there was no subordinate king. He
raised pillars of fame throughout the country. By
this is probably meant the ‘victory pillars’ which
powerful kings used to erect in commemoration of
their daring deeds.

Candra Gupta II reigned for thirty-six years,
that is to say, from 378 A. D. to 414 A. D. or in
the Gupta era from 59 to 95 G. E. All his inscrip-
tions and coins so far discovered belong to this
period, and thus give confirmation to the statement
of the Purāṇas.

The Purāṇa now gives an account of his son
and successor Kumāra Gupta.

(19)

*Kumāraguptas-talputro dhruvadevī-samudbhavaḥ;
Kumāra iva devārīn vijesyan-nija-vidviṣaḥ*

“HIS (CANDRA GUPTA II'S) SON
WILL BE KUMĀRA GUPTA BORN OF
DHHRUVADEVĪ WHO WILL CONQUER

HIS OWN FOES IN THE SAME MANNER AS GOD KUMARA VANQUISHED THE ENEMIES OF THE GODS ”.

Kumāra Gupta was born of Dhruvādevī. This is known also from the inscriptions. He conquered his own enemies in an excellent manner, since he is here compared with the heavenly general Kumāra who is the same as Kārttikeya. The suggestion given in the Purāṇa may relate to some kind of trouble and family feud consequent on the death of Candra Gupta II which his son and successor had to face. The trouble at the time of succession had almost become chronic with the royal house of the Guptas.

Kumāra Gupta does not seem to have made fresh wars in order to extend his dominions. It was enough if he could keep what his great father left for him. Of course the foreigners and the boundary tribes were there to cause him trouble, and perhaps Kumāra Gupta was able to keep them in check.

The next verse gives his exploits, and the duration of his reign.

(20)

*Samahārta-svamedhasya mahendrādityanāmataḥ ;
catvāriṃśat samā dve ca pṛthivīm pālayiṣyati.*

“HE (KUMĀRA GUPTA) WILL PERFORM THE AŚVAMEDHA SACRIFICE AND WILL BEAR THE TITLE OF MAHENDRĀDITYA (SUN-GOD THE GREAT LORD). HE WILL PROTECT THE EARTH FOR FORTY-TWO YEARS ”.

According to this verse Kumāra Gupta performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. As has been pointed out already the performance of a horse sacrifice means an extension of territory. Samudra Gupta did it and brought numerous kings under control, Kumāra Gupta inherited a large empire from his father who was undoubtedly the most powerful and the most illustrious among the Gupta emperors, and I do not see any reason why he should perform a horse sacrifice, unless it be just in token of imperial splendour and glory. Be that as it may, according to this Purāṇa Kumāra Gupta did perform the sacrifice although we do not understand the reason why.

Further, he assumed the title of Mahendrāditya. This title is seen on his coins and inscriptions and is already well known.¹ The Purāṇa here does not do anything beyond confirming the information we already possess from other sources.

According to this Purāṇa verse Kumāra Gupta ruled for forty-two years. Thus his reign begins in 414 A. D. when Candragupta II's reign comes to a close, and continued for 42 years till the year 456 A. D. (137 G. E.)

The next verse gives an account of his son and successor Skandagupta.

(21)

*Skandagupto pīṭa-putraḥ sāksāt skanda ivāparaḥ;
Hūṇadarpa-haraś-chaṇḍaḥ puṣyasena-niṣūdanaḥ.*

¹ See Raychaudhuri. op. cit., pp. 384f. and footnotes.

"HIS (KUMARA GUPTA'S) SON SKANDA GUPTA WILL BE THE VERITABLE SKANDA GOD (ON EARTH). HE WILL BE FEROCIOUS (IN BATTLE), WILL HUMBLE THE PRIDE OF THE HŪṆAS AND WILL DESTROY PUṢYASENA".

According to this verse Skanda Gupta the son of Kumāra Gupta was also like the war-lord Kārttikeya, and ably vanquished and destroyed his enemies. He came in conflict with the Hūṇas. By the word Hūṇa is meant all foreign tribes in general, as has been remarked earlier, but in the case of Skanda Gupta he had to fight with the real Hūṇas as we knew from some of his inscriptions. He was successful in vanquishing them, since in this verse he is said to have squeezed out the pride from the Hūṇas.

Skanda Gupta also came in conflict with Puṣyasena whom he destroyed in battle. From the inscriptions we learn that Skanda Gupta conquered the Puṣyamitras, apparently a turbulent tribe. Thus it appears that Puṣyasena was the leader of the Puṣyamitra tribe, and when the leader was killed, the opposition melted. In Jain literature Puṣyamitras are referred to, particularly in the *Prabhāvaka-caritra*.¹

The next verse gives his distinctive title and the duration of his reign.

¹ In the Singhi Jain Granthamala No. 13, pp. 15, 16, 18. They are also mentioned in the Jain *Kapla-Sūtra* and in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Dandekar, op. cit. p. 100.

(22)

*Parākramāditya nāmnā vikhyāto dharanitale ;
S'āsīyati mahīm kṛtsnām pañcaviṃśati vatsarān.*

" HE (SKANDA GUPTA) WILL BE FAMOUS ON EARTH AS PARĀKRAMĀDITYA (SUN-GOD OF PROWESS) AND WILL RULE OVER THE WHOLE EARTH FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS ".

The distinctive title of Skanda Gupta was *Parākramāditya*, and he was famous under that title. He ruled for twenty-five years, that is to say, from 456 A. D. to 481 A. D. (162 G. E., since Kumāra Gupta's reign ended in 456 A. D.

The next verse describes his successor Nṛsimha Gupta Bālāditya who was his brother's son.

(23)

*Tato nṛsimha—guptaśca bālāditya iti śrutah ;
Putrah prakāś-ādityasya sthira guptasya bhūputeh.*

" THEREAFTER NṚSIMHA GUPTA WILL RULE AND WILL BE KNOWN AS BĀLĀDITYA (RISING SUN-GOD). HE WILL BE THE SON OF KING STHIRA GUPTA PRAKĀŚĀDITYA (THE BRIGHT SUN-GOD) ".

Skanda Gupta was probably childless. He must have selected his brother's son Nṛsimha Gupta to be his successor. This Nṛsimha Gupta was the son of Sthira Gupta and was known by his title of *Bālāditya*. It may be noticed that Sthira Gupta had also a title ending in ' Āditya '.

He had the title of Prakāśāditya since he ruled conjointly with his son Bālāditya as we shall see later on. Now this is the second instance where the ruling king works in conjunction with a relative. In the case of Candragupta I it was his son Kaca whose title is not recorded in the Purāṇa, and in the present case Nṛsimha Gupta ruled conjointly with his father. This kind of conjoint rule seems to have been specially favoured by the Guptas. Since the Purāṇa gives a title to Sthira Gupta his importance undoubtedly was greater than that of Kaca who was not given a title.

Nṛsimha Gupta does not appear to be a very powerful king since no exploits worth the name are recorded of him in the Purāṇa under reference. We can assume that he, with difficulty, tried to preserve what he had obtained from Skandagupta. Even in preserving this he had difficulty and he made his old father collaborate with him. We will not be wrong if we assume that one of them took charge of the western dominions with Ujjayinī as the capital, while the other ruled over the eastern portion with Pāṭaliputra as the capital. At any rate, joint rule was a special feature of the Gupta imperialism.

The next verse gives further details of the king, and mentions the duration of his reign.

(24)

*Niyuktaḥ svapitravyeṇa skanda-guṇtena jīvataḥ ;
Pitraiva sākam bhavitā catvārimśatsamā nṛpaḥ*

" HE (NṚSIMHA GUPTA) WILL BE
APPOINTED KING BY HIS UNCLE

SKANDA GUPTA WHILE THE LATTER WILL BE ALIVE. HE WILL BE KING ALONG WITH HIS FATHER FOR FORTY YEARS. "

This verse gives some interesting information to the modern historian. Bālāditya came to the throne when Skanda Gupta was alive, that is to say, Bālāditya did not become king on the demise of the previous ruler. Moreover, Bālāditya was appointed king by Skanda Gupta himself. The arrangement to rule the kingdom jointly with Sthira Gupta was probably made by Skanda Gupta. Thus it appears that Skanda Gupta abdicated in his last days in favour of Bālāditya and his father. But why should he abdicate? Was he disgusted with life or did he take any defeat seriously, or had he become a permanent invalid. In the absence of more definite material we can only guess that constant warfare, continued anxiety and consequent ill-health broke him down in his last days, when he abdicated in favour of his brother's son Bālāditya. This is manifestly due to the fact that he had no child of his own.

Bālāditya is given forty years as the duration of his reign. Thus he was on the Gupta throne from A. D. 481 to A. D. 521 (or G. E. 202).

With these two verses the account of Bālāditya comes to a close, and the next two verses describe the last king Kumāra Gupta II of the imperial Gupta dynasty.

(25)

*Anyah kumāragupto' pi putras-tasya mahāyasaḥ;
Kramāditya iti khyāto hūnair-yuddham samācaram.*

" HIS (NṚSIMHA GUPTA'S) ILLUSTRIOUS SON WILL BE THE SECOND KUMĀRA GUPTA WHO WILL BE FAMOUS AS KRAMĀDITYA (THE PROGRESSIVE SUN-GOD) AFTER HAVING CARRIED ON A WAR WITH THE HŪṆAS ".

The next king in succession was Kumāra Gupta II. He is the last king, according to the Purāṇa, of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Like all other imperial Gupta kings he bore also the appellation of *Kramāditya*. He was the son of Nṛsimha Gupta Bālāditya and grandson of Sthira Gupta. Kumāra II was illustrious very probably as the last king of the Gupta dynasty. The Purāṇa describes his exploits and says that he carried on wars with the Hūṇas. The Purāṇa does not say, as in the case of the previous kings, that the Hūṇas were humbled, or that they were routed, driven out or extirpated. The Purāṇa description makes us apprehensive that the Hūṇas went on taking one slice after another from the Gupta dominions, during the life-time of Kumara Gupta II. Thereafter what was left could scarcely be called an empire. Thus the invariable disintegrating process broke up the Gupta empire, as other empires had done in the past or will do in the future.

Here also the term Hūṇa has to be taken to include all foreign tribes in general, namely, those settled by conquest in various parts of North India reinforced by fresh hordes from beyond the Punjab.

The next verse gives an account of his relations with other great men, and mentions the duration of his reign.

(26)

*Vijityeśānavarmādīn bhattārkenānusevitaḥ ;
Catuś catvāriṃśad eva samā bhoksyati medinīm.*

“ HE WILL ENJOY THE EARTH FOR FORTY-FOUR YEARS AFTER HAVING CONQUERED ĪSĀNAVARMAN AND OTHERS, AND WILL BE LOYALLY SERVED BY BHATṬĀRKA ”.

Kumāra Gupta II ruled for forty-four years, that is, his reign extended from A. D. 521 to A. D. 565 (246 G. E.). This is a pretty long period, but it was a period of steady disintegration and decline. Whether it was due to the weakness of the ruling kings or to destiny we do not know, but this is certain that the empire broke up with its seventh king. There were only seven kings in the imperial Gupta line, no more no less. Other Guptas belonged to their clan, and perhaps were nominally connected by blood, but they should not be mixed up with any of the imperial Guptas.

The last king Kumara Gupta II conquered Īsānavarman and others. This Īsānavarman is the Maukhari king who ventured to measure swords with the Gupta overlord, and assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja an imperial title. This must have brought him into conflict with the Gupta emperor in which Īsānavarman and his associates were defeated. It may be presumed that during the life-time of Kumāra Gupta II the Maukharis did

not become independent. They must therefore have become independent after 565 A. D. the last year of Kumara Gupta's reign.¹

Kumāra Gupta II was loyally served by Bhattarka. We can recognise in this Bhaṭṭārka the Senāpati Bhaṭṭārka who became the founder of the powerful Valabhī dynasty. On the break up of the Gupta imperial power in the year 565 A. D. Senāpati Bhaṭṭārka must have set up an independent kingdom in Gujarat and Kathiawad with its capital at Valabhī (Mod. Wala in Kathiawad). Senāpati Bhaṭṭārka was really loyal to the Gupta. He did not assume the title of Mahārāja nor allowed his son to assume the regal title. Bhaṭṭārka belonged to the Maitraka clan.²

The Guptas here are brought into contact with the founders of two later dynasties, namely, Īśānavarman and Bhaṭṭārka both of whom are well known to history. Both of them belonged to the sixth century A. D. This contact incidentally shows that the Gupta era had its beginning in 320 A. D. as rightly conjectured by Fleet and others, and should not be pushed backwards and forwards by chronological experts.

Here ends the account of the Guptas in the *Kaliyugavijayavṛttānta*. In three more verses the

1 E. A. Pires : *The Maikharis*. Madras 1934, assigns a period from 550-576 A. D. to Īśānavarman which admirably fits in with this Purāṇa scheme of chronology. See Ch. iv, pp. 75ff. for an account of this king.

2 For an account of Bhaṭṭārka see Raychaudhuri, op. cit. pp. 427.

Purāṇa gives a review of the Gupta dynasty and its achievements as a whole.

(27)

*Ete prajātasāmāntāḥ śrīmad-guṇa-kulodbhāvāḥ ;
Śrīparvatī-āndhrabhṛtya-nāmānaś-cakravartīṇaḥ.*

"THESE (EMPERORS) OF THE PROSPEROUS LINE OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY WILL BE REVERED BY SUBORDINATE KINGS AND WILL BE KNOWN AS THE SERVANTS OF THE ĀNDHRAS BELONGING TO THE HILLMAN TRIBE AND WILL BE CAKRAVARTI KINGS".

These seven kings of the Gupta line were all Cakravarti kings or emperors having command over a large number of subordinate kings. They were called the Āndhrabhṛtyas or 'servants of the Āndhras', because probably Candragupta was the commander of the Andhra army originally. They were also known as the Pārvatīyas because they came from the hills of Śrī-pārvata and belonged to the hillman tribe.

(28)

*mahārājadhirājādi-virudhāvālyalanakṛtāḥ ;
bhokṣyanti dve śate pañca-catvāriṃśacca vai samāḥ.*

"THEY (GUPTA EMPERORS) WILL BE ADORNED WITH SUCH IMPERIAL TITLES AS MAHĀRĀJĀDHIRĀJA AND OTHERS, AND WILL REIGN FOR TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIVE YEARS IN ALL".

The seven Gupta emperors assumed all the imperial titles such as Mahārājadhirāja, Paramesvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and so forth. They ruled for 245 years in all, that is to say, from 320 A. D. to 565 A. D. In 320 A. D. the Gupta era started when Candragupta wrested the dominions from the Āndhras, and 565 A. D. was the last year of the reign of Kumāra Gupta II.

(29)

*māgadhnām mahārājyaṁ chinnaṁ bhinnaṁ
ca sarvaśaḥ ;*

Sākam-etair-mahāguṇa-vanśyair-yāsyati samsthitiṁ.

"THE GREAT KINGDOM OF
MAGADHA HIGH WAS COMPLETELY
BROKEN UP AND PARCELLED OUT
WILL BECOME STABLE WITH THE
KINGS OF THE GREAT GUPTA
DYNASTY".

This verse alludes to the condition of the Magadha kingdom during the last days of the Āndhra rule. The great kingdom of Magadha at that time was completely broken up into small fragments having many rival kings and had become altogether unstable and precarious. The stability was established under the Gupta emperors. Small kings were brought under control, fighting elements were eradicated, and a great and stable empire was established. According to the Purāṇa that was the part played by the Gupta emperors.

Amongst the Gupta emperors Candragupta II was undoubtedly the greatest and the most powerful king. He assumed the title of Vikra-

māditya or the Valorous Sun-God. He was a Sanskrit scholar of great eminence. He made Sanskrit compulsory in his harem, and in his kingdom there was none who did not speak Sanskrit.¹ He became great as the traditional Vikramāditya and was surrounded by learned and scientific men of all description. In his court flourished the traditional Nine Gems including Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira. He ushered in a Golden Age, of peace, prosperity and refinement, and the high standard achieved by him has not yet been surpassed.

This second Sanskrit revival becomes far more illustrious than the first under the Sungas in the second century B. C. because there was a succession of powerful kings who had long reigns, but also because men of commanding genius and learning like Kālidāsa and Amarasiṃha and the other gems (as I have shown in another paper),² worked together for several decades at the court of Candra Gupta II and his immediate successor. Their masterly creations spread their influence from the court as the centre throughout the vast extent of the Gupta empire beyond its boundaries into the rest of the Āryāvarta.

1 Cf. *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, GOS. edition, p. 50—*śrūyate cojjayinīyāṇi sīhasiṅko nīma rāṇā ; teni ca saṁskṛta-bhīṣāt-makam-antahpura eva ; also Indian Culture*, VI. p. 381 n. *kāle śrī-sāhasāṅkaśya ke na saṁskṛtavādinaḥ*.

2 'The Nine Gems in the Court of Vikramāditya' for the forthcoming *Vikrama Commemoration Volume* to be published from Gwalior.

It may also be noticed that the Purāṇa does not assign the same number of verses to all kings of the Gupta dynasty. They are given greater or lesser number according to their importance. Thus Candragupta I is given eight verses, Samudragupta six, Candragupta II four, and all the rest two each. The Purāṇas seem to indicate that the Gupta power reached its very zenith in the time of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, and thereafter the kings who followed were mostly of the ordinary type trying to protect what they inherited. It was beyond their power to extend their territories, and perhaps they lost a considerable part of their inheritance till the empire altogether broke up in 555 A.D.

In this short article, I have indicated the history of the Gupta dynasty as recorded in the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa under the Chapter *Kaliyugārājavṛttānta*. I am inclined to believe that this is true history, and whatever research runs counter to this account should be re-examined with care before rejection. This account will further give an opportunity to the historians to correct numerous errors and misconceptions that may have crept into the Gupta dynasty as well as history. It is not possible for me to state them all here for the purpose of correction or for examination in the light of this Purāṇa material.

I now close this article with the hope that it will help in making the Gupta history purer and truer for our countrymen.

**IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY.
SUCCESSION LIST.
A. D. 320—A. D. 565.**

No.	Name.	Title.	Reign in years.	Period in A.D.	Period in G.E.	REMARKS.
1	Candra Gupta	Vijayāditya	Seven	320-327	1-8	Ruled jointly with his son Kaca.
2	Samudra Gupta.	Aśokāditya	Fifty-one	327-378	8-59	..
3	Candra Gupta II.	Vikramāditya	Thirty-six	378-414	59-95	..
4	Kumara Gupta.	Mahendrāditya	Forty-two	414-456	95-137	..
5	Skanda Gupta	Parākramāditya	Twenty-five	456-481	137-162	..
6	Nṛsiṃha Gupta.	Balāditya	Forty	481-521	162-202	Ruled jointly with his father Sthira Gupta.
7	Kumāra Gupta II.	Kramāditya	Forty-four	521-565	202-246	

" TUHFAT-US-SALATIN. "

A rare manuscript, dated A. H. 950=1543 A. D.

By S. A. SHERE, PATNA.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, the eminent Barrister and art connoisseur of Patna has among his rich and choice collection of Oriental literature and works of art an interesting and rare Persian Manuscript, which has been fittingly entitled by no other than the Emperor Shah Jahan¹ himself, on account of its historical importance, " Tuhfat-us-Salatin " or a " Present of Kings ". Apart from the importance of the Manuscript as a " Present of Kings ", it contains selected verses of the great poet Amir Shahi², written by the illustrious calligraphist Mir Ali and autographs on its flyleaf by the emperors Jahangir³ and Shah Jahan with their chronograms, which make it all the more interesting. The discerning eye of Mr. Manuk fell on this treasure at

¹ Emperor Shah Jahan's Coronation took place on Monday, the 4th February, 1628 (A. H. 1037) and he passed about seven and a half years in captivity in the fort of Agra preceding his death in January, 1666.

² Copies of Amir Shahi's " Diwan " are mentioned in Rieu (British Museum), ii, p. 640; Brown's Camb. Univ. Libr. Cat. pp. 353-354; Khuda Baksh Lib. Cat. Vol. ii. Nos. 173-176 and in the catalogues of other libraries in Europe.

³ Emperor Jahangir ascended the throne on the 24th October, 1605 (A. H. 1014).

Calcutta some years ago when he acquired it from a scion of the ruling family of Murshidabad for his already valuable collection of objets d'art. Encouraged by the owner of this unique Manuscript, the writer has ventured to write this short monograph, embodying certain researches into the origin and history of the work.

The Manuscript, unfortunately incomplete, contains the following verses¹ of the poet Amir Shahi on 12 folios :—

- بسوخت آتش عشق تو بیدگناه مرا -
 بدوخت ناوک چشمت بیک نگاه مرا -
 فتاده بر سر راه تو روازان مال -
 که پیور عشق چنین کون رو بواه مرا -
 بشمع نسبت بالائے دلکشت کردم -
 روا بون که بسوزی بدین گناه مرا -
 بسایه که گریزم دوزین بلا که منم -
 چو اهتمام تو نگرفت در پناه مرا -
 خطائے شاهی بیچاره را قلم در کش -
 که هست لطف عمیم تو عذر خواه مرا -
 اشک چو پرده میدرخ خلوتیان راز را -
 چند بدل فرو خورم نالگه جان گداز را -
 میطلبم بآرزو صحت و عافیت واسے -
 تهمت عقل چون نهم این دل عشق باز را -
 هر سحرے بخون دل آب زخم براه تو -
 رفته بدامن مژه سجده که نیاز را -

¹ See Diwani Shahi. MS. Khuda Bukhsh Lib. Cat. Vol. ii. No. 174. Folios 2(a), 2(b) and 3(b).

دیده شب نخفته را وصف در زلف او مکن -
 بادل پاسبان مگو حال شب دراز را -
 شاهي ازین سرود غم طرز چنوں گرفت دل -
 بخصص گفت و گو بده طبع سخن طراز را -
 جان بهر تو در بلاست مارا - دل پیش تو مبتلاست مارا -
 پیمشت بدعا بر آورم دست - در دست همین دعاست مارا -
 هر شب بهوائے خاک کویت - دیده برة صباست مارا -
 مخروم چو گل قبا کشاده - چون جامه جان قباست مارا -
 شاهي چه غم از جفا کند یار - چون رو بده وفاست مارا -
 مردم شگفته تر شوند از آه من (خست)
 از رهگذار بان چه غم شمع لاله را

which may be rendered into English thus :—

1. Innocent as I am, the fire of thy love has consumed me and a single glance from thy arrow-like eyes has pierced me through and through.

2. As I lie fallen on thy path, I rub my face (against the dust) for the guide of love has directed me to this course.

3. I compared thy attractive figure to a candle and it will be permissible to burn me for this offence.

4. Since thy consideration did not provide me with a shelter, whose sanctuary shall I seek from the calamity that surrounds me ?

5. Strike off the faults of poor Shahi, for thy kindness which is all comprehensive is an excuse for me.

6. When tears tear off the veil of secrecy, how long can I suppress within my heart this soul-melting lamentation ?

7. I may seek health and safety with longing, but how can I falsely accuse my heart, which is addicted to love, of being wise ?

8. Every morning I besprinkle thy path with my life-blood. I sweep with the fringe of my eyelashes the place where people place their foreheads in supplication.

9. Do not praise her two curling locks before the eye which has not slept through the night.¹ Do not describe to the heart of the watchman the affair of the long night.

10. Oh Shahi ! my heart is taking to the ways of madness because of these melancholy notes. Give leave to the poetic mind to express itself.

11. My life is surrounded with calamities because of thee. My heart has fallen in love with thee.

12. I raise my hands in prayers in thy presence. Only such prayer is left in our hands.

13. Every night in the expectation of the dust of thy path, my eyes are fixed in the direction of the breeze.

14. Do not saunter with unbuttoned cloak like a flower which has unfurled its petals, for thy cloak is the raiment of my soul.

¹ Length and blackness of the hair are compared to long dark nights.

15. Oh Shahi ! what does it matter, if the beloved is cruel ! For our face is turned towards loyalty.

16. Every moment thy face becomes fresher and fresher because of my sighs. What does the candle of tulip care for the passing wind ?

Four copies of Amir Shahi's " Diwan " are in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. Two of them are of considerable importance, as one² is written by Mir Ali al-Katib, the scribe of our Manuscript, and is dated A. H. 915 (1509 A. D.), and the other³ (by an unknown calligrapher) has a seal of the Emperor Jahangir and is dated A. H. 1036 (1626 A. D.). It is said that Amir Shahi composed twelve thousand verses, and from these he selected one thousand verses for his " Diwan " ⁴, which work has been lithographed in Constantinople and a Turkish Commentary on it is also extant⁴. The name of this poet was Aqa Malik, who was the son of Jamal-ud-din Firuz Kuhi. His *nom-de-plume* was " Shahi " and he was thus popularly known as Amir Shahi. He was not only a poet of repute but also a good calligraphist, painter and musician⁵. Owing to his accomplishments he had a friend and patron in the learned prince Mirza Baisanghar⁶,

1 Khuda Bakhsh Lib. Cat. Vol. ii. pp. 26-27.

2 Ibid. p. 27.

3 Habib-us-Siyar. Pers. Text. Vol. iii. Juz. 3, p. 150.

4 Bodl. Lib. Cat. No. 880.

5 Khuda Bakhsh Lib. Cat. Vol. ii. p. 24.

6 Atash Kadah. Pers. Text. p. 69. Mirza Baisanghar was grandson of Amir Taimur. He was himself a poet and wrote six different hands. He died at Herat in 1434 A. D.

son of Mirza Shahrukh¹. Mirza Baisanghar was himself a great calligraphist and entertained at his Court 40 calligraphists, among whom was the famous Jafar Tabrizi² who was a pupil of the renowned Mir Ali Tabrizi. The cordial relations between the prince Mirza Baisanghar and the poet Amir Shahi did not last long and the latter therefore retired to his native place Sabzwar.³ When Mirza Abul Qasim Babar, son of the prince Mirza Baisanghar ruled in Khurasan from 1452 A. D. to 1457 A. D., he requested the poet to make designs for some palaces at Astrabad, where the poet designer died when he was over 70 in 1450 A. D. (A. H. 854) but was buried in Sabzwar.⁴

The famous calligraphist Mir Ali⁵, the scribe of our Manuscript, "Tuhfat-us-Salatin" records his signature at the end of the work under date A. H. 950 (1543 A. D.). The verses in it are from the "Diwan" of the poet Amir Shahi as set out above. These are written in beautiful, clear Nastaliq in panels of elegant narrow dimension. Each little panel contains a single line of verse and three such

1 Mirza Shahrukh ruled over Khurasan, Mazandaran and Sijistan in A. H. 807 and over Shiraz, etc., from A. H. 817. He reigned 42 years and died in A. D. 1447.

2 Incidentally, in Mr. Manuk's Collection there is a Wasli signed by Jafar Tabrizi.

3 One of the chief cities of the Persian Province Khurasan; it lies west of Nishapore and between Meshed and the Caspian Sea.

4 Beale's An Oriental Biographical Dictionary. p. 363.

5 Rieu's Cat. (British Museum). ii. p. 531.

panels are side by side in one horizontal line but the last page of our Manuscript contains only two such panels. The three lines within these three small panels make one and a half verses. Then above and below each set of these three small panels we have in large bold and firm Nastaliq style single letters, *e. g.*, K, L, M, etc., on folio 3(a), and in combinations of two or more letters from the beginning *viz.*, Ba, Bt, Bj, etc. Each folio with its illuminated borders in flowers of gold on buff or pale blue ground measures 11 3/8" × 7 3/8". The penmanship in the large writing with its bold and firm sweeps is exquisite and displays the master hand laying down a perfect standard of calligraphy in Nastaliq for all time. In the smaller writing of the verses the letters though minute in size are perfectly proportioned in their formation. Some times so minute are they that without the help of a magnifying glass one would be liable to commit an error of reading. For instance in the word شگفته¹ (Shigufta) on folio 11(b) without a magnifying glass one may have read it incorrectly as شکسته² (Shikasta). All praise be to the man who could write so fine a hand and so bold a hand! No wonder the royal critic, Emperor Shah Jahan³, himself a fine calligrapher, records in his own handwriting in the endorsement which will be fully set out below that

1 The word means 'blossomed'.

2 The word means 'broken'.

3 See the writer's Article on the calligraphy of Prince Khurram (Emperor Shah Jahan) in the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. xxix, 1943, pp. 171—183.

our Manuscript is in excellent handwriting (در خط اول اول).

This Mir Ali was the son of the poet Maulana Mahmud (the latter's *nom-de-plume* was Rafiqui) and was born in Herat but he spent his younger days in Mashab¹. There is a controversy in regard to his teacher. The author of Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan says that he was a pupil of Maulana Sultan Ali of Meshed, who was a calligraphist of very great repute indeed. According to the Emperor Babar the latter was the best writer of Nastaliq style of writing.² Abul Fazal in the Ain-i-Akbari says that the scribe of our Manuscript took lessons from Maulana Zayn-ud-din³, who was a pupil of Maulana Sultan Ali.

Mir Ali was not only a calligraphist of the first rank but also a good poet and an accomplished scholar of Arabic and Persian. Two of his works on different characters of calligraphy entitled "Rasmul Khat" and "Khat wa Swad" are in the British Museum.⁴ His poetical compositions are also extant.⁵ His *nom-de-plume* was "Majnun".

1 Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan. Pers. Text. Bibl. Ind. pp. 49-54.

2 Memoirs of Zehir-Ed-Din Muhammad Baber—Leyden & Erskine. 1826. p. 197.

3 Ain-i-Akbari. Pers. Text. Vol. i. Naw. Kish. Press. p. 75.

Habib-us-Siyar-Pers. Text. Vol. iii. Juz. 3, p. 344.

4 Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan. Pers. Text. Bibl. Ind. p. 54n.

5 Ibid. pp. 49-54.

It is said that he was very careful to date his works¹ and our Manuscript the "Tuhfat-us-Salatin" bears testimony to this; but the writer has come across several examples undated though purporting to bear his signature. There is a recorded chronogram composed by him on the foundation of a Madrasah (School) in Bukhara which was built in 1535 A. D. (A.H. 942). His calligraphy according to some critics was not inferior to that of the master calligraphist Khwaja Mir Ali Tabrizi of the 9th Century Hijra (15th Century A. D.). Two of the latter's pupils Maulana Jafar Tabrizi, mentioned above and Maulana Azhar and also a third immediate pupil Maulana Khwaja Mahmud are mentioned by authorities.² Speaking about his own calligraphy the Mir Ali of our Manuscript says that it was superior to that of Maulana Sultan Ali, but he also modestly or merely politely qualified this self-praise by admitting that it had not the same charm as was to be found in that of the Maulana. He lived for a considerable period in Bukhara with Abdullah Khan Uzbek, having been appointed tutor to his son Momin Khan³, who became the ruler of Turan after the death of his father in 1598 A. D.⁴ He remained there only for a short time as the climate of the place did not suit him. There is a difference

1 Ibid p. 51.

2 Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann). p. 101 and note. Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan. Pers. Text. Bibl. Ind. p. 43.

3 Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan. Pers. Text. Bibl. Ind. p. 50.

4 Akbarnama, Pers. Text. Bibl. Ind. Vol. iii. p. 737.

of opinion in regard to the date of the calligraphist's departure from Bukhara to Mawara-un-Nahr. His contemporary biographer Sam Mirza in his work *Tuhfa-i-Sami*, composed in 1550 A. D. (A. H. 957), says that Mir Ali went there in 1538 A. D. (A. H. 945); but the author of the *Mirat-ul-Alam* records this as happening in 1512 A. D. (A. H. 918)¹. It is interesting to note that an excellent copy of the *Yusuf Zalikha* in the handwriting of our Mir Ali, worth one thousand gold mohurs, which was presented to Emperor Jahangir in the fifth year of his reign by Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, son of Bairam Khan, is now at Patna in the Khuda Bakhsh Library². It is not known if Beveridge had an opportunity to examine this rare manuscript, but nevertheless he doubts its authenticity and remarks, "Can the copy mentioned by Jahangir be that in the Bodleian Library (Oxford), which Sir W. Jones praised so highly?"³. As the Patna copy of the *Yusuf Zalikha* is recorded to have been written in Ramazan A. H. 930 the Cataloguer of the Khuda Bakhsh Library, discussing the date of the death of the calligraphist Mir Ali, was with reason certain that his death did not occur before the year of its transcription, *i. e.*, A. H. 930 (A. D. 1523). It is obvious that if he had known of our Manuscript, "*Tuhfat-us-Salatin*" which bears the year of transcription as A. H. 950 (A. D. 1543), he would have placed the calligraphist's

1 Khuda Bakhsh Lib. Cal. Vol. ii. p. 79.

2 *Ibid.* p. 77.

3 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. (Rogers & Beveridge). p. 168n.

death more definitely later¹. The exact date of Mir Ali's death is, however, not certain, but he is said to have died most probably in Circa A. H. 950² (A. D. 1543), which is the year of our Manuscript. As the signature and date of our Manuscript are in the body of the Manuscript itself and not in a colophon, which may have been subsequently added, there cannot be the least doubt of their authenticity and genuineness. That being so, an interesting speculation arises as to whether the master, feeling the approach of his end, decided to lay down a perfect standard of Persian calligraphy for all time.

Our Manuscript " Tuhfat-us-Salatin " once belonged to the library of the Great Moghuls as appears from the autographs of the Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan and other endorsements on its flyleaf as mentioned above. An interesting account of the Imperial Library at Agra has been given by the Spanish priest Father Sebastian Manrique. Speaking about it he says that when he was there in Shah Jahan's reign in 1641 A. D. it contained 24000 volumes which was valued by him at Rs. 463,731³. From the earliest records of the dates on the flyleaf of our Manuscript it may be definitely asserted that it was in the Emperor Akbar's Library; and from close examination of other details, one may opine that it most probably

¹ Khuda Bakhsh Lib. Cat. Vol. ii. p. 79.

² Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan.—Pers. Text. Bibl. Ind. p. 54n.

³ Vincent Smith's History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon. p. 456.

first belonged to the Emperor Humayun from whom it passed on successively to the Emperors Akbar, Jahangir, Shan Jahan and others until it was known to have been in the recorded possession of the Emperor Shah Alam II¹.

Abul Fazal records a particularly interesting incident of the Emperor Humayun listening to the Odes of Amir Shahi, some of whose selected verses (though not from the Odes) are found in our Manuscript, when the Emperor happened to be in Persia in A. D. 1543 (A. H. 950), *i. e.*, in the very year of the transcription of this Manuscript. When Sher Shah inflicted upon Humayun two defeats in succession, one in A. D. 1539 and the other 1540, the latter having been deserted by many of his followers was obliged to flee westwards for his life and consequently became a homeless wanderer. In A. D. 1544 he abandoned all hopes of regaining his lost kingdom and resolved, in the circumstances, to march to Qandahar with a view to beg help from Shah Tahmasp I², King of Persia. When Humayun was in Sistan³, the Shah was informed of it and the latter responded with a right royal reception and extended his hospitality in a befitting

¹ Emperor Shah Alam II, whose original name was Ali Gohar, ascended the throne in A. D. 1759 and died in A. D. 1806 at the age of 81. He was a good poet and his *nom-de-plume* was "Aftab"

² Shah Tahmasp I ascended the throne of Persia in A. D. 1524 and ruled for about 53 years until his death in A. D. 1576.

³ It is now in Afghanistan. See Hunter's I. G. I. p. 53.

manner to the exiled Emperor. Abul Fazal gives a copy of the interesting Firman issued by the Shah to the Governor of Khurasan directing him to offer all possible hospitable civilities to Humayun¹. " It is proper ", directs the Shah to his Governor, " that Hafiz Sabir Qaq and other famous singers and musicians who may be in the City, be always present and whenever his Majesty desires it, please him by singing and playing "². While proceeding to meet the Shah, Humayun halted at the Bagh-e-Jahan-ara³ on the 27th January A. D. 1544 (1st Zilqadah, 950 A. H.) Muhammad Khan, the Governor of Herat, was there to represent the Shah. A royal Persian feast was arranged for the distinguished guest and the great musician and singer Sabir Qaq, referred to in the Royal Firman, was present at the first assembly to entertain him. Abul Fazal further records that the singer recited the following Odes of Amir Shahi and as the second verse was very appropriate to the occasion, the Emperor was moved and affected :—

مبارک منزلے کان خانہ را ماہے چنیں باشد
 همایون کشورے کان عرصہ را شاہے چنیں باشد
 زرنج و راحت گیتی مرنجان دل مشو خرم
 کہ این جہان گاہ چنان گاہے چنیں باشد

1 Khuda Bakhsh Lib. MS. No. 552. folio 81b.

2 *Ibid.* Folios 81b and 82a.

3 *Ibid.* Folio 83a. Incidentally the Emperor Babar records under events of the year 912 A. H. (1506 A. D.) that, "every two or three days I went to the Bagh-e-Jahan-ara (the world adorning garden) in order to perform 'Kornish' to Badi-uz-Zaman Mirza" who was, on his father's death, regarded as the chief prince of the house of Taimur—see *Memoirs of Zehir-Ed-Din Muhammad Baber*. Leyden & Erskine, 1826, p. 204 and note 5.

4 Khuda Bakhsh Lib. MS. No. 552. Folio 83a.

The above verses may be translated into English thus :—

1. "Blest the abode to which such a moon hath come. August¹ the world where there is such a king".

2. "Be nor grieved nor glad at terrestrial pain or pleasure. For the world is sometime this and sometimes that".

The verses must have caused great solace to and created lively sensations in the mind of the exiled Emperor, for Abul Fazal records in picturesque metaphor that "His Majesty Jahanbani (*i. e.*, Humayun) was touched and deeply affected and poured presents into the skirts of his hope".

Humayun stayed in Persia for about a year and his host, the Shah, who was a great patron of art and in whose Court artists of repute were employed was all attention to his guest. The Emperor Babar's historian-daughter Gulbadan Begam says that the Shah, "in various ways showed good feeling, and every day sent presents of strange and rare things" to her brother Humayun². From all these data, *viz.*, the Shah's generous interest in his guest, the descriptive title "Tuhfat-us-Salatin" given to the Manuscript by the Emperor Shah Jahan's personal endorsement, the Hijra year 950 given by the scribe himself as the date of the Manuscript, that date coinciding

¹ There is a pun on the word هُمَايُون (humayun). It means august, fortunate and is also the name of the exiled Emperor before whom the Odes were recited.

² Humayun-Nama by Gulbadan Begam. Pers. Text. P. 74.

with Humayun's visit to Shah Tahmasp I, and the Shah's " strange and rare " gifts to the royal exile, the inference is strong that this unique Manuscript was one of these sumptuous gifts. Finally, Abul Fazal's record of the Emperor Humayun listening to the Odes of Amir Shahi when in Persia in A. H. 950 seems to be all but conclusive of the point. What more fitting gift could the cultured host make to his equally cultured but unfortunate guest? It is true that there is no record on this work to show that it was in the possession of Humayun but the omission may be due to various causes, one being the fact that he was hardly at rest between the years of its transcription and his death. In 1554 A. D. he started to recover his lost dominion. In 1555 A. D. he recaptured Lahore, in June of the same year he fought a decisive battle at Sirhind and a month after recovered the lost throne of Delhi. Then in less than six months of his restoration, Humayun received a fatal injury by accidentally falling down the steep stairs of his library, " Sher Mandal ", which caused his death on the 24th January, 1556¹. There seems to have been very little time between his reconquest of Delhi and his death for a record to have been made on the flyleaf of our manuscript.

There are defaced seals below two endorsements of the Ilahi years. We know that among the greater Moghuls only the Emperors Akbar and Aurangzeb ruled for over 42 years, Akbar about 50 and Aurangzeb about 49 years, and as the latter

1 Vincent Smith's Akbar the Great Moghul, P. 449.

Emperor had discontinued the use of the Ilahi year. It follows that these two endorsements mentioned below of the Ilahi years 42 and 47 were made in the time of the Emperor Akbar.

The first one reads as follows :—

" On the 8th of the month of Bahman, Ilahi year 42 was presented for perusal ".

The Ilahi year was solar and about eleven days longer than the Hijra year. The months of the Ilahi year are normally of 30 days each but sometimes of 31 and 32 days. The names of these months are : (1) Faridun or Farwardin, (2) Ardibihist or Urdibihist, (3) Khurdad, (4) Tir, (5) Mardad or Amardad, (6) Shahryar or Shahryur (7) Mihr, (8) Aban, (9) Azar, (10) Dai, (11) Bahman, (12) Ispandarmaz or Isfandarmuz. The names of the days of the Ilahi months are the same as those of the Persian days, a list of which is given at length in the Akbarnamah. Abul Fazal speaking about the names of the Ilahi years says that the " enlightened mind of His Majesty the Shahinshah also directed that there should be a duodenary cycle of this Era, each year being named after a month, *e. g.*, the first year was the year Farwardin Ilahi, the second, the year Ardibihist Ilahi ". The year 42 mentioned in the endorsement simply signifies the 42nd year of accession. The 42nd regnal year of Akbar began on the 11th March, 1597 (2nd Sha'ban 1005 A. H.). The exact conversion of Ilahi to A. D. dates is not possible in most cases, as the exact number of days of each Ilahi month is not known. The beginning of the Ilahi Era and of the 1st regnal or Ilahi year is

reckoned from the 11th March, 1556 (27/28 Rabi II. 963 A. H.)¹. Our "Tuhfat-us-Salatin" was therefore presented before Akbar for perusal on the 8th of the month of Bahman, year 1597 A. D. (1005 A. H.) which was the 42nd year of his accession *i. e.* about 8 years before his death in 1605 A. D.

The second endorsement referred to above reads as follows :—

"Allah Akbar. On the 9th of the month of Urdibihist, Ilahi year 47 was entrusted to Mulla Ali".

The year 47 mentioned in the endorsement signifies the 47th year of accession, that is again of the Emperor Akbar. His 47th regnal year began on the 11th March, 1602 (26th Ramazan, 1010 A. H.). Our Manuscript was therefore entrusted to Mulla Ali on the 9th of the month of Urdibihist (2nd month of the Ilahi year) in the year 1602 A. D. (1010 A. H.) which was the 47th year of the Emperor's accession, *i. e.*, about three years before his death. The officer who was entrusted with our Manuscript may possibly be Mir Saiyid Ali, son of the famous artist Mir Mansur. No other notable person of this name appears to have existed in the reign of Akbar. Perhaps on account of his learning Mir Saiyid Ali is also mentioned by Abul Fazal as Mulla Ali.² This Mulla Ali was a native of Tabriz and was patronised by the Emperor

¹ *Ibid.*

² Aini-Akbari. Pers. Text. Vol. I. Naw. Kish. Press, p. 76.

Humayun who conferred on him the title of Nadir-ul-Mulk.¹ Abul Fazal mentions that under the care of Akbar he attained great perfection in the art of painting and was well known for his art. He was also a reputed poet and adopted the *nom-de-plume* "Judai". He is said to have left a "Diwan" but is accused of publishing Ashki's verses in his own name.² The Romance of Amir Hamzah, represented in twelve volumes was the monumental work of Humayun's time and is said to have been prepared under Mir Saiyid Ali's supervision.³ Abul Fazal says that "clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story".⁴

From Akbar our Manuscript came into the possession of his son Jahangir whose autograph, a

1 Ma'athir al-Umara. Pers. Text. Bibl. Ind. Vol. ii. Fasc. I. p. 3.

The Chester Beatty Collection of Indian Miniatures by Sir Thomas W. Arnold. Vol. i. p. xx.

2 Ain-i-Akbari. (Blochmann). Vol. i. p. 590 and n. 2.

3 Ma'athir al-Umara. Pers. Text. Bibl. Ind. Vol. ii. Fasc. i, p. 3.

4 Ain-i-Akbari. Pers. Text. Naw. Kish. Press. Vol. i. p. 78.

Incidentally in Mr Manuk's Collection there are four illustrated leaves of this work. Some leaves of this famous work are in the Vienna Museum, 25 pages in the Indian Museum, South Kensington, four in the British Museum and two published in the Chester Beatty Collection of Indian Miniatures by Sir T. W. Arnold. (See Vol. i. p. xx) and numerous leaves in American Collections.

translation of which is given below, appears on the flyleaf :—

Allah Akbar.

Has been entered in the library of the suppliant at the Court of God on the 13th of the month of Bahman, year 1, corresponding to the 22nd Ramazan, 1014 (A. H). Written by Noor al-Din Jahangir, son of Akbar Badshah "

There is a seal below this inscription which is absolutely obliterated. Emperor Jahangir's coronation took place on the 20th Jumadi II, 1014 A. H. (1605 A. D.), and therefore the endorsement was made exactly 3 months and 2 days after the coronation.

From Jahangir our Manuscript passed on to his son Shah Jahan who also autographed it. The latter's inscription reads as follows :—

" Ilahi. In the name of God, the most merciful and Compassionate.

Tuhfat us-Salatin.

This book of specimens of fine penmanship has been entered in the library of this suppliant at the Court of God on the 25th of the month of Bahman Ilahi, corresponding to the 6th of the month of Jumadi II, 1037 Hijri, which is the date of my blessed accession. Written by Shihab-al-Din Muhammad Shah Jahan, son of Noor al-Din Jahangir Shah, son of Jalal al-Din Akbar Shah.

Price 2500 Rupees

In excellent handwriting.

It is interesting to note that with the exception of the descriptive title conferred on the work and of the last two lines, this autograph is almost word for word similar to the autograph of the Emperor Shah Jahan appearing on Firdausi's Shahnama in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, published by J. V. S. Wilkinson and Laurence Binyon at the Oxford University Press (December, 1930)¹; and also on the exceedingly valuable and rare copy of an anthology in Persian, beautifully written by the scribe of our Manuscript, Mir Ali, which is one of the treasures of the Khuda Bakhsh Library² at Patna.

There are four other endorsements besides the four referred to above on the flyleaf. All are dated as to months, but with one exception the year of the inscription is not given. They will be termed herein as the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8 endorsements.

The 5th endorsement reads as follows :—

" Allah Akbar. On the 8th of Shahryur, year 3 was entrusted to Chalpi from the custody of Mulla Saleh ".

The 8th of the month of Shahryur and year 3 signify that the endorsement was made on the 8th of the fourth month of the Ilahi year in the 3rd

¹ Patna Museum Lib. No. 1478.

² Khuda Bakhsh Lib. Cat. Vol. XI. No. 1089. p. 100.

The last line containing the date on the Khuda Bakhsh Library MS. is also absent from our Manuscript.

year of accession. Unfortunately the endorsement gives no clue to the Emperor whose accession is referred to; nor are the full names of the custodians given, but we may reasonably assume they were at least employed on the staff of the Imperial Library if not Chief Librarians in the 3rd regnal year of one of the grand Moghuls. We know that, in the " exceedingly valuable and unique copy of the Diwan of Mirza Kamran, brother of the Emperor Humayun, bearing the autographs of the Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and the seals and signatures of many distinguished nobles and officers of the Courts of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and others " , there are mentioned in the endorsements the names of Muhammad Saleh and Abdullah Chalpi² through whose hands as well that manuscript had passed. Then in the Library of the Nawab of Murshidabad we find a rare copy of the Shahnama, illustrated and illuminated and on the last page of that valuable manuscript are several endorsements which may be translated as follows³ :—

- (1) " Presented by Sultan Shah Safavi⁴ on the 14th Rajab, 975 Hijri in the Capital of Ispahan. Received into the treasures of the Library " .

1 Ibid. Vol. ii. Cat. No. 237. p. 145.

2 Ibid. p. 156.

3 The Musnud of Murshidabad by P. C. Majumdar, p. 86.

4 Shah Safavi Tahmasp, King of Persia—1524—1576 A. D.

- (2) " Belonged to Shahzada Danyal¹,
made over to the custody of Mulla
Saleh, Ketabdar (librarian).
Signed by Shaikh Sadr ".
- (3) " Belonged to Danyal deceased.
Received by humble Jahangir " .²

From the endorsement mentioned above in item (2) it appears that one Mulla Saleh was a librarian attached to the Royal Court in Akbar's reign. But again in the reign of Shah Jahan we notice that one Mir Muhammad Saleh, poetically called Kashfi, was appointed keeper of the Imperial Library in 1056 A. H. (1646-47 A. D.) and later died in 1061 A. H. (1651 A. D.).³

Also, we learn from the traveller Bernier⁴, that after the departure of the Persian envoy, Budaq Beg⁵, from the Moghul Court, the Emperor Aurangzeb received and reprimanded his tutor Mulla Saleh for the wrong coaching he had given him in his childhood. With so many obviously different persons bearing the name of Mulla Saleh and acting as librarians

1 Prince Danyal, Akbar's son died in 1604 A. D.

2 The endorsement is said to be in the handwriting of the Emperor Jahangir—See " The Musnud of Murshidabad by P. C. Majumdar, p. 87.

3 See the Article of Mr. S. Chand Husain published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 18. 1942. p. 34.

4 Bernier, p. 77.

5 The envoy Budaq Beg had arrived on the 22nd May, 1660 A. D. and was dismissed on the 27th July, 1660 A. D.

during different reigns it is not possible to identify the Mulla Saleh of our 5th endorsement with accuracy, but it may well be that he and Chalpi of our Manuscript are the same two persons who are mentioned in Mirza Kamran's " Diwan " referred to above.

The 6th endorsement runs as follows :—

" Allah Akbar. On the 4th Azar, year 1
was presented for perusal ".

The 4th of the month of Azar and year 1 signify that the endorsement was made on the 4th day of the ninth month of the Ilahi year in the first year of accession. There is a seal below this endorsement which is also erased. Here again on account of the absence of the corresponding Hirja year in the endorsement it is not possible to say before which of the Moghul Emperors our Manuscript was presented for perusal on this occasion.

The 7th endorsement runs as follows :—

" On the 2nd Rabiul-Awwal, year 12 of
the auspicious exalted accession, was
presented for perusal ".

There is a seal below this endorsement as well which is also defaced. For the same reason as given in respect of the 6th endorsement it is not possible to ascribe the inscription to any particular reign of the Moghul dynasty.

The 8th and the last endorsement runs as follows :—

" On the 4th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1192 (A. H.)
was presented for perusal ".

Here fortunately a date is given, so we are in a position to ascribe this endorsement to the reign of Shah Alam II who was put to torture and blinded in 1788 A. D. He ruled from December 1759 A. D. Later, Delhi the Moghul Capital was taken by the British in 1803 A. D.¹ As the endorsement was made in 1192 A. H. (1778 A. D.) it is clear that our Manuscript remained in the Imperial Library for a little about 178 years after the Emperor Jahangir's endorsement, that is till shortly before the Imperial Library ceased to function. When the Imperial throne was tottering, this precious Manuscript must have been sent to Murshidabad with other treasures of the Imperial Library for safe custody with the then Nawab of Murshidabad, who was the Emperor's Viceroy in Bengal; and there it remained for another century and a quarter before it was acquired by Mr. Manuk. Unfortunately, however, owing to neglect at some period of its existence it bears sad traces of depredations caused by white-ants and a very few pages are missing, but it nevertheless is a thing of beauty in calligraphy and illumination and it is gartifying to know that it has now found a home where it is sheltered with tender care by its present owner to whom this Article may fittingly be dedicated.

¹ Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. p. 448.

CESSION OF THE DUTCH POSSESSIONS
IN INDIA TO THE BRITISH GOVERN-
MENT, 1824-25.*

By DR. KALI KINKAR DATTA,

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Even after the Dutch had got back ¹ their settlements in the East, with some exceptions, in 1816-1817, the functionaries of their Government and those of the British Government were engaged in various discussions, during the administration of Marquis of Hastings, on some conflicting questions. Sir Stamford Raffles, who went to Bencoolen with the designation of Lieutenant Governor towards the close of 1817, was "intimately acquainted with the various interests in that quarter, and with the positions which presented the best means for successfully competing with the preponderating influence of the Dutch".....². The hoisting of British Flag on Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles "brought matters to an open issue"³. The points in dispute being referred to the English Company's

*Based mostly on some records of the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi.

¹ Vide my article on *Restoration of Dutch Settlements in India, 1816-17*, published in *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1941.

² Auber, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, Vol. II, pp. 555-56.

³ *Ibid.*

Government in Bengal, Marquis of Hastings lavished, in a Minute, ample praise on Sir Stamford Raffles for his zeal to uphold British interests and at the same time pressed upon the Home Government the expediency of a speedy settlement with the Dutch ¹. The negotiations between the British Government and the Government of the Netherlands were protracted till the year 1824 as reference had to be made, on various points, to their respective officers in India ².

It was during the administration of Lord Amherst that the two came to an agreement providing for mutual exchange of settlements in the East. The English thereby obtained some territorial possessions of great value in strengthening the edifice of the British empire in the East. On the 17th March, 1824, a treaty ³ was signed at London between the British Government and the Government of the Netherlands with a view, as they declared, "to place upon a footing mutually beneficial to their respective possessions and the commerce of their subjects in the East Indies so that the welfare and prosperity of both Nations may be promoted in all time to come, without those differences and jealousies which have, in former times, interrupted the Harmony which ought always to subsist between them, and being anxious that all occasions of misunderstanding between

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Consultations, 3rd February 1825, No. 2. (Imperia. Record Department, Foreign Branch).*

their respective agents may be, as much as possible, prevented”¹.

The politically important terms of the treaty were the following :—

“Art. 8.—His Netherlands Majesty cedes to His Brittanic Majesty all establishments, on the continent of India, and renounces all privileges and exemption enjoyed or claimed in virtue of those establishments.

Art. 9.—The factory of Fort Marlborough, all the English possessions on the island of Sumatra are hereby ceded to his Netherland Majesty ; and His Brittanic Majesty further engages that no British settlement shall be formed on that island, nor any treaty concluded by the British authority with Native Prince, chief or state therein.

Art. 10.—Town and port of Malacca and dependencies ceded to Brittanic Majesty.

Art. 11.—His Brittanic Majesty withdrew objection to the occupation of the Island of Billiton and dependencies by agents of Netherlands Government.

Art. 12.—His Netherlands Majesty withdraws objection to the occupation of the

¹ *Proceedings, Foreign Department, 14th October, 1824*
(I. R. D.).

Island of Singapore by subjects of His Britannic Majesty. No British establishment to be made on the Corimon island and island of Baltam, Bintang, or other islands.

Art. 13.—Delivery of all possessions on the 1st March, 1825.

Art. 14.—Inhabitants for 6 years of the date of notification of the Treaty may dispose of property as they like ”.

In accordance with articles 8 and 13 of this treaty, Sir Thomas Munro, Governor in Council at Fort St. George, appointed Lieutenant Colonel James Stuart Fraser, special Agent for foreign settlements, Commissioner for “receiving possession of all such Netherlands Establishments as were within the territories subject to the Government of Fort St. George from such person or persons as would be duly empowered by the Netherlands Government to deliver up the same”¹. The appointment of Lieutenant Colonel Fraser, and the powers as well as instructions given to him by the Madras Government, were approved of by the Governor-General in Council early in February, 1825².

Instructions had been already issued, on the 13th January 1825,—to the Magistrates and the

¹ *Proceedings, Foreign Department, 3rd February, 1825, No. 2 (I. R. D.).*

² *Letter from C. Lushington, Secretary to Govt., Fort William, to D. Hill, Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, 1825.*

Collectors of Hugli, Murshidabad, Dacca, Patna, Cuttack, and the Twenty-four Parganas appointing them Commissioners to take charge respectively of 'the Town and Territory of Chinsurah', and the Dutch Factories and possessions at Kalikapur (near Kasimbazar in the Murshidabad District), at Dacca, at Patna, at Balasore and at Fultah¹.

On the 7th May, 1825, Chinsurah was formally delivered by Mr. B. C. D. Bouman, Commissioner appointed on behalf of the Netherlands Government, to Mr. W. H. Belli and Mr. D. C. Smyth, Commissioners on behalf of the British Government.² The total sum transferred by the former to the latter was Sicca Rupees 57,735-6-10½³. They

¹ *Proceedings, Foreign Department, 13th January, 1825, No. 15 (I. R. D.).*

² Letter from Commissioners for receiving charge of Chinsurah to C. Lushington, Secretary to Government, Fort William, dated 7th May, 1825; *Proceedings, Foreign Department, dated 19th May, 1825, No. 7.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
³ "By a Bill of Exchange on His Excellency the Secretary of State Governor-General of Netherlands India on account of the Poor Funds.	38,045	3	7

By Promissory notes of the British Government and in cash on account of the Orphan Fund.	18,013	14	5½
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In cash on account of the Sequestration Department.	230	9	4
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In cash on account of the Dewany Adwawlat.	1,379	2	6
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In cash on account of the Faujdary Adwawlat	66	9	0
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Sicca Rupees ..	57,735	6	10½"
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Proceedings, Foreign Dept., 19th May, 1825, No. 7.

deposited the cash together with the promissory notes and Bills of Exchange in the treasury of the Collector of the Hugli District awaiting the orders of their Government on the subject¹, and took possession of some arms, ammunition, papers and documents.

The British Commissioners made the following important observations, for the knowledge of their Government, in their letter to Mr C. Lushington, Secretary to Government, Fort William, dated the 7th May, 1825 :—"The Netherlands Commissioner wished to enter into some discussion regarding the Chinsurah appeals, now depending before the Supreme Court at Batavia, as well as the cases of those individuals who might under the existing Dutch Law be still entitled to an appeal. We however informed the Commissioner, that being solely commissioned to receive charge of the settlement we did not consider ourselves authorized to enter into any discussion on this point, but that the Netherland authorities might rest assured, that any question of the sort that might eventually arise, would be duly considered by the British Government in the proper Department, and would certainly receive a fair and liberal construction.

The Commissioner also alluded to the cases of certain individuals, who had taken refuge in Chinsurah on account of the entanglement of their affairs, and handed us for consideration two petitions from these persons, requesting permission

¹ *Ibid.*

still to reside in Chinsurah and not to be liable to the process of the Supreme Court.

On this, as on the former question, we stated that we had no authority either to grant or to reject the prayers of the Petitioners. Being, however, of opinion that such a request was on general principles utterly inadmissible, we considered it our duty to inform the Commissioner that until we were instructed to the contrary we should conceive ourselves bound to grant every assistance to any officers of the Supreme Court, that should demand it, and we finally suggested, that all persons placed in this unpleasant situation should be informed of our determination, in order to their withdrawing from the settlement, previous to its formal delivery to the British Commissioners.

The above remarks are all that at present appear necessary to report to Government. The Lists of the Records and of the other official Papers, being all in the Dutch Language, we have made arrangements for their early translation into English, that we may be prepared hereafter to deliver them over to the proper offices, to which they might finally be assigned. The European Dutch Records apparently go back as far as A.D. 1700 and the Persian Furmans etc., to 1638 A.D. Amongst the latter documents, appear to be some very curious and authentic papers, which ought we think to be made over to the Presidency Committee of Records, as they may on examination prove to be of some value, and at any rate certainly deserve to be carefully preserved on account of their very

great antiquity. The European Records may perhaps be transferred to the Foreign General Departments.

The Police Establishments have been retained by us on their present footing until some arrangements shall have been made by Government in the proper Department. The expense of this Establishment, as well as the expense of translating the Lists of the Records, and any other petty expenses that have been, or may be indispensably necessary, will be submitted to you at the end of the month, for the purpose of obtaining the authority of Government for their payment.

We beg leave in conclusion to state, that until we receive the further orders of Government, Mr. Belli will conduct the necessary details of this Settlement in the Revenue Department and Mr. Smyth those relating to the Police, and should any question of moment arise, we shall either consult jointly on the subject or submit the case to Government on the occasion as may appear to demand "1.

They again addressed a letter to Mr. C. Lushington on the 11th May, 1825, forwarding to him at the same time the following letter, dated the 6th May, 1825, received by them from the Dutch Commissioner, Mr. Bouman. The Dutch Commissioner had written therein: "Agreeably to the Instructions wherewith I am furnished, I have the honour to acquaint you, that since the restoration of this place to the Commissioner the late I. A. Van

Braam, Esqr., in 1817 several complaints have been preferred to His Excellency the Governor General in Council at Batavia by persons who felt aggrieved by the decisions of the Netherland Authorities at this place, but whereas in so doing the necessary formalities were not observed, no enquiry or investigation, into the nature of such complaints had ever been entered into. And although the time given for appeals by your Regulations should have expired, I have it in command to state, that His Excellency the Governor General in Council at Batavia aforesaid is desirous that to such persons access may be granted to British Authorities for redress, and that thereof public notice be given. I have to request you will have the goodness to submit this case to the Right Hon^{ble} the Governor General in Council at Fort William and trust it will meet with very liberal consideration" ¹.

In acknowledging the receipt of the letters of the English Commissioners at Chinsurah, dated the 7th and 11th May, 1825, Mr. C. Lushington informed them on the 19th May, 1825, that with regard to the several important questions they had represented therein for the consideration of their Government in Calcutta, the Governor-General in Council deemed it advisable "to suspend a decision on them" until they had been able, by continuing to "act in the conjoint capacity of Commissioners", to "furnish a more detailed report of the various points arising out of the transfer" together with their opinions and suggestions on each head of

reference ¹. He, however, communicated to them that their proceedings, as described in these letters, were "generally approved" ² by the Governor-General and Council. On the same day a notice was published in the Government Gazette regarding the formal delivery of 'the Town and Settlement of Chinsurah' by the Netherlands Government to the British Government on the 7th May, 1825. ³

The Dutch factory at Kalikapur had not yet been delivered to the English Commissioners there, Mr. Travers and Magniac, who brought it to the notice of the Calcutta Government on the 11th May, 1825 ⁴. Mr. C. Lushington, therefore, instructed the English Commissioners at Chinsurah on the 19th May next "to apply to Mr. Bouman to expedite the transfer of Calcapore" (Kalikapur) and to inform Messrs. Travers and Magniac of the result of their application ⁵. Most probably the matter was quickly settled.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

SOME ASPECTS OF THE QUTB SHAHI ADMINISTRATION OF GOLKUNDA. *

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An attempt has been made in this paper to study some aspects of the system of Government in Golkunda in the period before the rise of Mir Muhammad Sayeed Mir Jumla to power there. On ascending the throne (Wednesday, 14 Jumadi-ul-awwal, 1035—February 1, 1626) Abdullah Qutb Shah endeavoured to place the internal administration of the country on a proper basis. He intended to appoint a wise and enterprising Peshwa and an Asaf-like Mir Jumla, so that the laws of the kingdom might be regularised and the rules regarding the subjects and the soldiers be harmoniously adjusted. These two officers were expected to remain in the capital and they formed "two pillars of the kingdom" ¹.

(i) Peshwa.

Since the death of Nawab Allami Fahmi Mir Muhammad Momin Peshwa towards the close of the

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¹ *Hadikat us Salatin*, 71 ff (letters of congratulations from Adil Shah, Nizamshah and Khurram): 80—83; *Qutbnuma-i Alam*, 18. For description of Golkunda see Thevenot (1686 ed.) Chs. IV—IX.

reign of the late Sultan (Muhammad Qutb Shah), the office of the Peshwa had remained unfilled, its duties being discharged by the Sultan himself and occasionally, at his orders, by the *dabir*, Mir Muhammad Raza Astarabadi. ¹ Now, Shah Muhammad ² was appointed Peshwa, ³ but as he was not a capable officer, Shaikh Muhammad *alias* Ibn Khatun ⁴ was appointed the *naib* (assistant) Peshwa, and permitted to sit in the *majlis* and near the throne. As the high post of the Peshwa was thus shared by these two, the post of the *dabir* was transferred from Muhammad Raza Astarabadi to Shaikh Muhammad ⁵, who discharged the duties of his two offices, great and small, with due efficiency. His capacity and influence roused the jealousy of Shah Muhammad, who 'closed the door

¹ Appointed *dabir*, after Khwaja Muzaffar Ali, through the effort of the Peshwa, Mir Muhammad Momin. H. S. 80—83; Q N. 18.

² Son of Shah Ali Arab Shahzada (H. S. 82) or son of Shah Ali Arab Shah Pirzada (Q N. 18); and brother-in law of of Muhammad Quli (H. S. 82).

³ The grandmother (according to H. S. 82), queen-mother (according to Q. N. 18) of Abdullah wanted her son-in-law Shah Md. to be appointed Peshwa and made an agreement (*qarar dadan*) to that effect with the *maliks* and the *khwajas* or *khwaja-saras* or domestics.

⁴ The late Sultan wanted to give him a high post (Q. N. 18). He had been deputed to Persia as envoy and was brought back after much correspondence (H. S. 83). See Dr. K. K. Basu in JBORS, June 1942, p. 183 or *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress, Lahore, 1940*.

⁵ H. S. 83; Q N. 19. Many persons received patronage from the Sultan through the intervention of Shaikh Muhammad.

of co-operation with him in every matter' and began to harbour a constant grudge against him¹. But the inefficiency of the Peshwa became manifest to the Sultan, when he could not effectively deal with the matters, brought by Shahjahan's ambassador, Shaikh Muhiuddin, on his arrival in Golkunda, and the Sultan, growing displeased with him, looked to Allami Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun to settle these matters². Further, he could not give proper replies to the envoys of Shahjahan, Adil Shah and Nizam Shah, and did not consult his *naib* Shaikh Muhammad. Not only were the affairs of the Peshwa not discharged properly, but several actions of Shah Muhammad were not in the true interests of the Sultan; rather they proved to be treacherous. Several of his letters, written to Adil Shah, were intercepted by Khwaja Afzal Turk on the way and showed to the Sultan. Nawab Allami Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun showed to the Sultan, a letter of Shah Muhammad written to Adil Shah, which was drafted not by himself (as he did not know how to write himself), but by Shah Qazi, Havaladar of the *langar* (alms-house) and which was secured after Shah Qazi's death from his *Kalamdan* (pen-case). For all these reasons the Sultan dismissed Shah Muhammad and on 9th Ramzan, 1038, April 22, 1629 invested Nawab Allami Shaikh Muhammad with the duties of the *Peshwa-i-Kul*³.

On becoming Peshwa, Nawab Allami Shaikh Muhammad first dealt with the affairs of Shahjahan's

¹ H. S. 83-4.

² Q N. 30-1.

³ H. S. 189—191 (chronogram on p. 192); *Izadiqat ul Alam*, 315-16.

ambassador. After long correspondence with Asaf Khan, wazir, and other amirs of Shahjahan, it was finally settled (*hukm shahi*) that Nawab Allami would act in the name of the Sultan in all matters. All foreign envoys, therefore, came to him, and he became a favourite of the Sultan. Through his intervention, many learned persons, poets and travellers got rewards from the Sultan. Some were even appointed in the Sultan's service and got high posts. The post of *dabir*, originally held by Nawab Allami, was given to Mulla (maulana) Wais, who soon became an expert in all matters¹. In 1039 (1629-30) Mir Qasim Beg Ardastani Nasirul Mulk was appointed havaldar of *Khassa-i-Khail* and his son *Sarnaubat*, and Diyanat Khan havaldar of Murtazanagar². In March, 1634, Shaikh Muhammad was appointed Mir Jumla.

(ii) Mir Jumla

The word Mir Jumla is a title of the holder of a post, and not a personal name. Literally, the term Mir Jumla or Meer Joomla or Ameer i Joomla implies 'the chief of the collections' and so strictly his office was that of a finance minister³.

¹ H. S. 192-'94; Q. N. 33-34; H. A. op. cit.

² Q. N. 37-38.

³ Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomadan Power in India*, III, 475n.

There was a post of Mir Jun lagi in Ahmadnagar as well. As the local nobles did not like the domination of the Abyssinians, the former suggested to Chand Bibi that a person be appointed, according to whose advice, administration would be carried on. Chand Bibi then appointed Shah Abul Hasan, son of Shah Tahir as Amir-i-Jumlagi (امير جملاگي) *Hadigat ul Alam*, 206-7.

But there are many indications to show that his duties were not confined to purely civil or financial matters, but embraced the military tasks of leading expeditions, and the police functions of keeping law and order in the State.

On the death of Jamsheed Qutb Shah 957/1550, Mustafa Khan Ardastani, 'prime minister', invited his brother Ibrahim Qutb Shah to court from Vijaynagar, and the latter honoured the minister with the office of Meer Joomla and a dress of honour, and the hand of his own sister¹. He is described as "minister and commander-in-chief" in the 'History of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah'². He recovered Indracoṇḍa from Kasy Row and, on his return, "was honoured with titles, and raised to the office of Peshwa"³. Another Mir Jumla during the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah was Shah Mirza (or Nizam) Ispahani, a Syed of the Tubatibba, "who had long held the office of Ameer Joomla", and whose daughter was married by Ibrahim's son, Muhammad Quli Qutb (acc. 989/1581)⁴. Later (c. 998/1589), the Sultan "appointed the respectable Syud, Meer

¹ Briggs III, 329.

² Briggs III, 404.

³ *Ibid*, 409. This implies that the office of Peshwa was higher than that of Mir Jumla.

⁴ Shah Mirza on Briggs III, 334 and *Hadiqat ul Alam*, 204. Briggs III, 333, 334, 447. In *Hadiqat ul Alam*, 202, we read that Mir Shah Mir, fighting in the fort of Naldurg after his father's death, was entrusted by Md. Quli Qutb Shah with the affairs of the kingdom.

(جل عقد امور سلطنت را برائے صواب تمامی او مفوض ساختہ)

Mohamed Ameen, a native of Astarabad, to the situation of Meer Joomla, with a salary of 2 lacks of hoons" ¹. He helped in the restoration of internal order in the capital, where the property of foreigners (Moguls of Agra and Lahore) was looted by the local people. "The moment Meer Joomla heard of these riots, although in the midst of business, he ran to the palace and even waking the Sultan, informed him of the situation" ². In 1019/1610, the Sultan directed his "prime minister" Mir Mahomed Ameen, to lead an expedition against Bastar country, held by Purtab Sa ³.

Abdullah Qutb Shah elevated Mansur Khan Habshi, *Ain ul mulk* (lit. eye of the state) holding the office of the havaladar of *Lasikar-i-rikab* (troops accompanying the Sultan) to the high office of Mir Jumla (*Jumlat ul mulki*) ⁴. Naturally, he was more attentive to the management of the affairs of soldiers than to civil duties. As he was not proficient in drafting and administration, he had necessarily to depend on the Brahmans for help in discharging his duties and they came to wield the reins of power. He was not sincere or faithful with the poor (peasants) though they are usually the foundation of the kingdom, and did not look to their interests. The administration became marked with nepotism, as we read that his favour varied with the

¹ *Ibid*, 475. (Mirza Muhammad Amin, acc. to *Hadiqat ul Alam*, 244).

² Briggs III, 476.

³ *Ibid*. 482.

⁴ Q N. 18-19. (also due to influence of the harem).

influence and connection of persons¹. Nizam-uddin tells us that favouritism invaded the military department in which Mansur Khan was more interested. Influenced by the instigations of evil-minded persons, he dismissed some of the old and experienced domestics like Malik Yusuf, and Malik Ambar, with good record of service under the late Sultan. For example, (i) the late Sultan had discharged Malik Adam and given his offices of *Sar naubat* and the *havaldari* of the *Khassa-i-khail* to Malik Yusuf, an honest officer. Now, Malik Yusuf was dismissed and Malik Adam, for some past services, was given a high post, and he became a favourite of the Sultan and many duties of the Sultanat were usually done through him and by his *parwana*. (ii) Malik Ambar had been a sincere and a devoted servant of the late Sultan. But now the 600 Gurji (Georgian) and Habshi (Abyssinian) slaves, whom he had collected and whose havalдар he was, were separated from him, and each, according to merit, was given a salary, ranging from 1000 to 3000 *tankas* and were ordered to stay out of the royal tents (*dau'at khana*)². Out of this group, four intelligent and wise men were created khans and each was made a sardar of a fauj³.

¹ H. S. 84. The Brahmans held the same position in revenue matters in the Deccan as the Khattis and Kayastha in North India. They were also employed as ambassadors.

² H. S. 86 (Malik Ambar); Q N. 19-20.

³ One was Firuz Khan, a Turkish slave; the others were Abyssinians, Adam Khan, Yakut Khan and Hamid Khan. H. S. 87; Q N. 20.

Some old officers were retained and confirmed. Malik Almas, an old malik, and an important officer of the kingdom, acting as havaldar of some Karkhanas, viz. *Sarkar-i-imarat* (Government buildings) *Zarrad-khana* (armourer's shop), *zargar khana* (goldsmith's dept.), *topkhana* (artillery) and of some qasbas in the environs of the *shahr* (capital?) and holding some other important posts, now became a very important person, came near the Sultan and became one of the four pillars of the kingdom ¹. Qasim Beg, son of Murshid Quli Beg Turkoman, who had been the kotwal of the capital during the reign of Muhammad Quli, Hasan Beg Shirazi, his assistant, and Mir Qasim Beg Ardastani, *Nazir ul Mulk*, were all confirmed ². Etmad Rao, Narayan Rao, and Suri Rao, who, being Brahmans, were *dabirs* of Hindi *farmans* and *Majmuadur* and *Sabnavis*, were confirmed. Etmad Rao was appointed *Taqarrub-i-darga* (close to Sultan). Other amirs like Dharmá Rao and Asi Rao, were confirmed ³.

The influence which Mansur came to possess over the Sultan made him look down upon and ill-treat other officers. Towards the end of the 2nd regnal year, he became displeased with Shah Muhammad Peshwa and Qasim Beg Kotwal ⁴

¹ H. S. 85.

² Mir Qasim according to H. S. 87; Q N. (20) has Mirza Qasin. He became Nazir ul Mulk after Mir Abu Talib Ejdi.

³ Q N. 20.

⁴ The Kotwal had to issue passports to immigrants and merchants entering the town and to search their goods. He had

for not consulting him. He wanted, with Sultan's approval, to dismiss Qasim and appoint Mir Muhammad Isfarani (then in Hindustan) Kotwal, but as Qasim Beg resigned (9th Muhurram, 1037 September 10, 1627), Mansur summoned Mulla Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi, havildar of Masulipatam, so as to appoint him kotwal. But the Sultan appointed Hasan Beg, the assistant Kotwal, officiating as kotwal from 10th Muharram (September 11) for efficient performance of his duties. Mansur now left all duties of Mir Jumlagi in the hands of Muhammad Taqi¹. This shows that the Mir

his tribunals and underground prison houses for criminals (Thevenot, 1686 ed. 94, 95). Of the 'many officers and men of law' at Bhagnagar, "the most considerable is the *Cotoual*. He is not only Governor of the Town, but also chief Customer of the kingdom. He is besides, Master of the Mint-House, and Supreme Judge of the City, as well in civil and criminal matters: he rents all these places of the King, for which he pays a good deal of money" (*Ibid.* 97).

1 An Abyssinian slave, whose Aqa was Mansur Khan, had made derogatory remarks against Qasim Beg, engaged in looking after the *maidan-i-darbar*, and arranging for its lights. As it was not possible to punish him, Qasim resigned (Q N. 28). Mir Syed Muhammad Isfarani (H. S. 172) [Mirza Syed Muhammad Isfrahi (Q N. 28)], was an officer in the court of Md. Qutb (Abdullah Qutb's father), had gone to Hindustan with permission to go to holy places and was staying with Nuruddin Jahangir at Lahore (H. S. 173-74; Q N. 28). He came to Golkunda after Mansur's death when Shaikh Muhammad was Peshwa, and was given 5000 huns every year and Ibrahimpur consisting of 12 villages as jagir. With his help, his 2 sons and other members of his family were employed in the Sultan's service; each was paid, according to merit, in jagir instead of in *tankhūa*. H. S. 194; Q N. 34 (Isfarahi).

Jumla had the power of appointment and dismissal, subject to the Sultan's approval.

On the death of Mansur in 1038/c. Oct. 1623, the post of Mir Jumla seemed to have been kept in abeyance, the *Sar-i khail* discharging the former's duties till 1634. For a few months in 1631 Shaikh Muhammad Peshwa officiated as *diwan*. But his enemies made allegations (*chuglkhuri*) to the Sultan behind his back, but on enquiry, they proved to be false. The Sultan, thereupon, wanted to re-appoint¹ him Peshwa; but, on his hesitation to accept that office, the Sultan offered him the post of Mir Jumla, as the affairs of the Kingdom were virtually performed according to his advice. After many royal inducements, Shaikh Muhammad accepted the post of Mir Jumla on Shawwal 9, 1043/29 March, 1634, with his nephew Shaikh Muhammad Tahir (appointed *sar i-khail* in place of Mir Fasihuddin) as his assistant².

The reins of administration of the kingdom were now handed over to him. Suitable arrangements for civil and military affairs were made the next day, and rules were issued in every department. As it was the established practice that one group of

¹ This might suggest that he was under orders of suspension for a time, pending enquiry. If this was so, it would imply that the Sultan was very susceptible to outside mischievous influences and could not use his judgment properly. Or does it mean that when he was appointed *diwan*, some one else was appointed Peshwa?

² H. S. 355—58. According to Major Haig, he was appointed Mir Jumla in April 1634 (FEF 1637—41, p. 53a).

silladars would be under the charge of Mir Jumla, the Sultan ordered the sardars, (each having 100 *suwar* and 100 *piada*), with 14 silladars to be placed under Nawab Allami. It was also settled that on every Thursday Nawab Allami should go to the royal graveyard, followed by the entire group of *majlisian*, and all sardars (foreign or Deccani) and *khasa-i-khail* when riding out to the alms-house. The functions of *diwani* would be discharged along with all officers and *chudadaran* (contractors or collectors), who would all assemble in the *Lal Mahal* every day. During his administration the salaries of officers of all grades—*majlisian*, *amaldaran* (tax-gatherers), *silladars*, and all menials. Able men were patronised. The balance of pay of *mulaziman* (courtiers or attendants on the Sultan), not paid in the time of chudadars were now paid back. Remissions of debts were allowed to many. Learned men and merchants received considerable help (in his time) from the Sultan. During his tenure of office, the Sultan used to come and spend one week every month in rejoicings and Nawab Mir Jumla used to bear the expenditure from his own pocket. Naturally the house of Mir Jumla became a place of interview of the important officials, nobles and favoured persons with the Sultan⁴. The Nawab, in spite of his being engrossed in the multifarious duties of the state, and paying respects to the

4 Out of the numerous presents offered by the Nawab for the first time, the Sultan accepted only 2 Arabi horses, just to please him, returning the rest to him, and the Sultan also gave a *khilat* and a special dress and 2 horses with gold trappings. On the 7th day the Sultan used to return to the capital.

Sultan twice (a day), used to discuss with the *ulama* (learned) and *sulaha* (the pious), poets and other gifted persons on various subjects. Then he devoted to worldly affairs and repaired to the *darulat khana-i-diwani Ala*. On his return from the royal darbar, he went to the *diwankhana* where an assembly (*jamait*) of all officers, big or small, *amils*, *ohudadars* *karkuns* (registrar of collections) was held and the administration of the affairs of the Sultan and the people were disposed of till evening¹.

Twice or thrice in a month, in the gardens surrounding the city, majlises were held to which different hajibs, of Iran and Hind were called. On the whole, Nizamuddin says, he was an able officer².

As Nawab Allami Shaikh Muhammad performed, besides his own duties as Mir Jumla (*Jumlatul Mulki*), the herculean task of the office of the Peshwa, including the most important function of conducting diplomatic relations, the Sultan invested this able officer with the dress (a special *khilat*) of the Peshwa, in addition to the officer of

1 After the dinner at night, he held discussions on various matters. On *sehsamba* (Tuesday), a holiday, he used to discuss with poets of Arab and foreign descent, on books of Mutanabbi, Khaqani (azam), Anwari, Masnavi.

2 H. S. 355-363. The presents of Nawab Allami included jewels, *murassa alat*, horses, elephants, *aqmasha* (cloths, stuffs, woollen) and other presents (*tuhfa hadiya*) as *peshkash*. In Zikada 1044 (April, 1635) Imam Quli Beg the Elchi of Shah Safi of Iran came to Golkonda, together with Khairat Khan, hajib of Golkonda (H. S. 371-77). Mir Asadullah Tabrezi, *Kirkaraq* of the Shah of Iran, came to Golkonda towards the end of the year 1636-7 with a letter from Shah Safi but died of bowels disorders (H. S. 444-5.)

Mir Jumla, presented him 2 Iraqi horses and permitted him to come to the royal presence in the *palki* (17 Rajab, 1045/17 Dec., 1635). All persons were ordered to refer their cases to him for disposal.

The increasing confidence of the Sultan seemed to have infused fresh vigour and zeal in him and Nizamuddin Ahmad writes that he now began to put in better services in improving the condition of the people, developing cultivation and discharging administrative duties. Of the many able persons, and *silladars* appointed in the Sultan's service through his endeavours, the most important, from the point of view of the history of India was silladar Mir Muhammad Sayeed, who, holding the office of the *Sardaftar i shahi*, was put in charge of Masulipatam 1045/1635-6 and appointed *Sar i khail* in 1637¹.

(iii) Sar-i-Khail

The term '*Sar-i-khail*' literally means head of horse but in practice, the incumbent of the office

1. H. S. 389-398. (a) Mirza Kasim Khurasani, (b) Hakim Nizamuddin Ahmad Gilani, (c) Miran Miran, son of Qazi Zahiruddin Muhammad al Hossain ul Hanafi, (d) Hakim Abdul Jabbar Gilani, (e) Muhammad Saleh Beg Astarabadi, (f) Ali Akbar Junaidi Deccani, (g) Syed Tahir Deccani and (h) Karim Khan Lari, (i) Mulla. Wais, (j) Abdullah Khan Mazandarani, (k) Mir Md. Sayeed. Many of them, who were originally in Mughal service, left Hindustan and came to Golkonda, probably on account of the growing religious intolerance of the Mughal Court. For Mir Muhammad Sayeed, see my article, "The Rise of Mir Jumla" in Proceedings, I. H. R. C. (Trivendrum, 1942).

had to discharge civil or revenue functions, besides military duties.

Khwaja Afzal Turk, who had been *Sar i khail* for 9 years and havaladar of (?) was dismissed towards the close of the reign of Muhammad Quli from both these offices and was succeeded first by Mir Muhammad Taqi Tabataba¹ and then by Mirza Rozbihani Ispahani². However, Mansur Khan Habshi Mir Jumla secured the reinstatement of Khwaja Afzal Turk as *Sar i khail*³. But on the death of Mansur Khan Habshi in 1038, when many officers applied for the post of the *Sar-i-khail*, Mulla Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi, officiating diwan (in the time of Mansur) whose wisdom and ability were highly spoken of by Mansur to the Sultan was appointed *Sar-i-khail* on Safar 23, 1038/Oct. 12 1628. He paid such a great attention to the affairs of the diwani that the officers of the *mahals* and the Brahmanas⁴ lost their former importance; peculations and embezzlements were stopped and the collections of revenue increased. 130,000 huns were collected from Narayan

1. H. S. 88 (pay of Khwaja Afzal Turk was 1 lakh hun) ; but Q. N. 20 refers to a jagir of 4 lac huns.

2. H. S. 82 (Mirza Rozbihani *Sar i khail* for 10 mon'hs) but Q. N. 19 has 2 months.

3. H. S. 88 (arrangement fixed beforehand that Shah Md. was to be *Peshwa*, Mansur Khan *Mir Jumla* and Khwaja Afzal Turk *Sar i khail*).

4. Acc. to Thevenot, the Brahmanas were the collectors of tolls and were very insolent and exacting,—“a much rugged sort of people to have to do with than the *Bahians*.” (1686 ed. p. 94). Abdullah Qutb Shah put great confidence in the Brahmanas (*Ibid* 101).

Rao (Majmuadar) and deposited in the treasury. Several mischievous *chaudhuris* were killed and their goods were confiscated. The Sultan rewarded Muhammad Taqi for these meritorious services with the title of *Sharif ul mulk* and a present of a go'd-embroidered pen-case (*kalamdan*), which had not been given to any one after Mirza Muhammad Amin Mir Jumla.

At that time, the Sultan, hearing of the advance of the Mughal army, gave him 50,000 huns for collecting an army and the post of *Sardar* (commander) was added to that of *Sar-i-khail*. Several elephants were given to him from the Sultan's stables. He collected Deccani, Afghan and Arab soldiers, and his position improved daily¹.

All these details show that (i) the post of *Mir Jumla* and *Sar i khail*, were now held by one and the same person (Muhammad Taqi), (ii) the term *diwani* included the revenue duties of both these offices, (iii) the *Sar-i-khail*, like the *Mir Jumla*, had to perform both civil and military duties.

Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi, *Sharitul mulk*, *Sar-i-khail* and *Sardar*, died² on Shawwal 19, 1040

1. H. S: 184-188; QN. 31-32. The post of *Sararri Ain ul mulk*, which had been held by Mansur Khan was given to Adam Khan Habshi, in whose place came Ata Quli Gurji, and the post of havalдар of *fauj i rikab* was given to Mansur's son.

2. He fell ill in Shaban, and was treated by Hakim Ismail Gilani and some Hindustani *tabibs*. He died on morning of Shuwal 19 at the age of 39. His family went back to Irak. QN 47-48.

May 11, 1631, after an excellent record of service for 2 years and 7 months. Pending the appointment of a permanent Mir Jumla, Nawab Allami Fahmi Shaikh Muhammad Khatun acted as diwan, evidently in addition to his duties as Peshwa. But he had his duties (of diwani) performed by Mir Qasim *Nazirul mulk* and Mir Muizzuddin Muhammad Musharraf and Narayan Rao Majmuadar and other officials, who arranged the articles in the royal kitchen, elephant stables and horse stables (respectively?). However, owing to high prices of crops and increasing expenditure, the management of the affairs of the diwani became extremely difficult. Many activities were suspended, and complaints began to pour in from many *mahals*.

Evidently these temporary arrangements did not work satisfactorily. Hence, after 2 or 3 months, Mirza Ahmad¹ Astarabadi, holding a *mahal* of 60,000 huns, was selected as the *Sar-i-khail* and on 24 Zilhijja 1040/July 14, 1631, he assumed charge of his duties. He began to perform them honestly and sincerely, but was greatly handicapped by his deficiency in knowledge of accounts and administration. The Brahmanas naturally took advantage of it and due to their machinations he could not manage things well. Complaints from houses and mahals became so loud that the Sultan himself had to look after the affairs of the *Karkhanas*.

Hence the Sultan decided to confer the post of *Sar-i-khail* on a competent person. As delay would

1. The text reads 'Hamza' instead of Ahmad, but subsequently it reads Ahmad.

be dangerous, he immediately acted on the suggestion of Nawab Allami, and, on 3 Rabi-us-Sani 1041 /Oct. 19, 1631, appointed Mirza Ruzbihani Ispahani, who had been dismissed by Mansur Khan Habshi Mir Jumla¹. Though Mirza Ruzbihani discharged his duties honestly and sincerely, the Sultan did not appreciate his services very much and remained on the look out of a more suitable person. But as his conduct was faultless, his dismissal was continually deferred till Safar 13, 1042/Aug. 20, 1632, when Mir Fasiuddin Muhammad Taqrishi was appointed *Sar i khail*².

Mir Fasihuddin³ became a favourite of the Sultan, as he began to dance attendance upon him at the place of *Salam* morning and evening and remained engaged in his duties the whole day. The Sultan presented him a gold-embroidered *kalamdan* (pen-case) like the one given to *sharif ul mulk*⁴.

1. Mirza Ahmad (Hamza), serving as *Sar i khail* for 3 months and 10 days, was now given a different office, and a jagir of 4 lac huns and appointed a member of the council (*majlis i huzur*).

2. QN. 47-50. It is stated therein that Ruzbihani served for 2 months 14 days, which is evidently a mistake. H. S. (317-20) 060, or 10 months (319).

3. Mir Fasihuddin Muhammad Taqrishi had been in Murtazanagar and favoured by the Sultan after the death of *Shariful mulk* (Q. N. 47-50). He was now called from murtazanagar. Nizamuddin Ahmad described him as "Asafjahi" (H. S. 319, 335), an epithet which was later given to Mir Muhammad Sayeed Mir Fasihuddin accompanied the procession of the wife of Adil Shah (sister of Abdullah) to Bijapur (H. S. 341).

4. QN. 50.

But he was dismissed when Nawab Allami was appointed Mir Jumla on Shawwal 9, 1043/29 March, 1634, and the latter's nephew (sister's son), Shaikh Muhammad Tahir was appointed *Sar-i-khail*, as assistant of Nawab Allami¹.

Again, when Nawab Allami was invested with the *khilat* of Peshwaship in addition to his duties of Mir Jumla (17 Rajab, 1045/17 Dec., 1635) the post of *Sar-i-khail* remained unfilled for 3 months. Mulla Wais *Munshi ul mamalik*, being unwilling to give up his post of dabir and accept that of the *Sar-i-khail*, Abdullah Khan Mazandarani, *Sar-lashkar* of the country of Kasimkot and Kalang, was appointed *Sar-i-khail* on 19 Shawwal, 1045/17 March, 1635, on the advice of Nawab Allami².

Finally in 1637, Mir Muhammad Sayeed, haval-dar of Masulipatam and in charge of Mustafanagar, arrived at the court on Safar 7 (21 June), in obedience to a royal farman of Muharram, 1047, (May-June, 1637) and offered presents, probably including several fine elephants and various cloths of Europe and China. The Sultan received him well and "discerning the signs of wisdom and ability in him", appointed him *Sar-i-khail* in succession to Syed Abdullah Khan (night of Safar 9, 23 June 1637)³.

1. H. S. 355—63.

2. H. S. 389—98. It is not very clear what happened to Shaikh Muhammad Tahir.

3. H. S. 446—48, 517. See my article on the Rise of Mir Jumla in Proc. I. H. R. C. (Trivandrum) 1942.

(iv) Havalдар of Masulipatam

Masulipatam, being an important port of Golkonda, had its havalдар or governor, while the head of the district (*i. e.* Mustafangar) was known as *Sar samt*, and the port officer was known as *Shahbundar*¹

In 1037/1627-8, we find Mulla Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi as havalдар of Masulipatam. When he was summoned to the capital by Mansur Khan Mir Jumla towards the end of the 2nd regnal year of Abdullah Qutb Shah, for being appointed *kotwal* of Golkonda the Sultan appointed another, and Mansur Khan left all the duties of Mir Jumla in the hands of Taqi (for a year), who came to be described by Nizamuddin as officiating diwan. Mir Fasihuddin Muhammad Taqrishi was appointed havalдар of Masulipatam².

From English factory records it appears that the administration of Masulipatam by these two officers, Mulla Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi and Mir Fasihuddin Mahammad Taqrishi proved to be highly vexatious for the English factors. They therefore

1. For Masulipatam, see my article on Early Relations of Mir Jumla with the English in Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress (Cal.) 1929. Letter of Masulipatam factors to Surat, Aug. 3, 1636; FEF. 1634-6, P. 277. All these are different persons. Two of the Shahbundars were Khwaja Muhammad Kasim (FEF. 1637-41, P. 75n., 1622-23, p. 233) and Syd Alley (Saiyid Ali) (= Mir Sayyid Ali) Letter of Masulipatam Oct. 20, 1640; FEF. 1637-41, P. 261).

2. H. S. 173-84; QN. 27-29. Diwanat Khan was for several years before 1039 in charge of Masulipatam in the time of Mansur Khan, according to QN. 37-38.

decided to remove from Masulipatam to Armagon (within the jurisdiction of the Nayak of Chandra-giri) owing to the insolent attitude of the Governor of the former place. They wrote a letter to 'Mirpass', Governor of Masulipatam, complaining that their troubles and difficulties were all due to his predecessor 'Mamatucke', and that they were continued by him "without hope of reformation" ¹.

A few years later (1630-2), the district round Masulipatam was under Mirza Rozbihani Ispahani. In English factory records, 'Meirza Rosbahan is spoken of as the 'Great Governor', who refused the English permission to embark cloth at Petapoli unless they paid customs there for the whole, besides (the 'port sise of Masulapatam'. The factors subsequently (Nov. 22, 1930) treated with the governor of Masulipatam at Paurequa, offering to give him 'a suitable recompense' and promising to give Mirza Rozbihani 2 pieces of broadcloth. Possibly he was the havalдар of the area round Masulipatam and in the Batavia Dagħ Register (for 1631-4), is mentioned as the Governor of Masulipatam ². From a Masulipatam letter of August 29, 1632, we come to know that he was the

1. This letter is undated, but it is added in FEF. 1624—29, P. 280—4 to the consultation held at Masulipatam, September 11, 1628. 'Mirpass' or 'Mirpasse' of English factory records is not Mir Abbas, as suggested by Bilgami to Sir William Foster, but Mir Fasih *i. e.* Mir Fasihuddin Muhammad Taqrishi and 'Mamatucke' of the records is not Mahmud Taqi but Muhammad Taqi *i. e.* Mulla Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi.

2. FEF. 1630—33, p. 99; Batavia Dagħ Register (for 1631—34. p. 45); in FEF op. cit. fn.

rendedare or farmer of the place and also chancellor of the kingdom of Golkonda (*Sir-i-khail*)¹.

In 1045/1635-6 Syed Mir Muhammad Sayeed *Sar-i-daftar shahi*, was given charge of Masulipatam as its havildar, through the efforts of the then Peshwa, Nawab Allami Fahmi Shaikh Muhammad ibn Khatun (entitled Mir Jumla). As a reward for his excellent services here, Mir Muhammad Sayeed was put in charge of Mustafanagar after a year².

The following inferences may be drawn from the above details :—

(1) The influence of the harem, as seen in the appointment of Shah Muhammad Peshwa and Mansur Khan Mir Jumla, worked prejudicially to the efficiency of administration. Appointments were made, inspite of the good intentions of the Sultan, not on considerations of efficiency but favouritism. A successful and highplaced officer was exposed to the risk of losing the Sultan's favour, due to the machinations of his personal enemies. Indication

1. Masulipatam to Surat. FEF. op. cit., p. 228. The suit of the English to the Sultan was opposed by Mirza Rozbihan, who, along with "some other great men", expected a bribe. "which in these parts will open any passage and without which nothing can be effected except per force, which the Dutch have, and do made use of, being therefore the better esteemed". The letter goes on: "Such is the miserable condition of this country, whence justice and truth are fled long since, the poor exceedingly suffering the tyranny of the rich without redress".

2. H. S. 446—8, 389—98. It would appear that the havaldari of Masulipatam was a stepping stone to the office of *Sar-i-khail*.

exist of rivalries between the Persian elements and non-Persian (Abyssinian) elements in the court.

(2) There was no separation of civil and military functions. The Peshwa, as prime minister had to conduct foreign relations, but also discharged the duties of the diwani. Again, the duties of the Mir Jumla were not purely civil or financial but included military and police functions as well. His influence depended on an extensive power of patronage exercised subject to the approval of the Sultan. The *Sar-i-khail*, like the Mir Jumla, had to discharge civil and military duties and presumably officiated for the Mir Jumla from 1628—34. An able *Sar-i-khail* could keep his subordinates under control; but under a weak and inefficient *Sar-i-khail*, the latter were tempted to abuse their influence and power. The *Fiwal-dari* of Masulipatam was a stepping-stone to the office of *Sar-i-khail*.

(A) Peshwa.—

1. Nawab Allahmi Fahmi Mir Muhammad Momin. (died, *temp.* Md. Qutb Shah.)
2. Shah Muhammad (1626—April, 1629.)
3. Nawab Allahmi Shaikh Md. (April 22, 1629 (?) Perm. 17 Dec. 1635.)

[Also diwan May-June, 1631 (offg).]

(B) Mir Jumla.—

1. Mansur Khan Habshi (1626—1628) [*Via* *Sar-i-khail* No. 5—8, 1628—34].
2. Shaikh Muhammad (29 March, 1634).
3. Mir Muhammad Sayeed.

(C) Sar i khail.—

1. Khwaja Afzal Turk (c. 9 years : dismissed towards close of reign of Md. Quli).

2. Mir Muhammad Taqi Tabataba.

3. Mirza Rozbihani.

4. Khawza Afzal Turk.

5. Mulla Md. Taqi Taqrishi (Oct., 12, 1628—May 11, 1631.)

[Shaikh Md. Peshwa officiating May-July, 1631]

6. Mirza Ahmad Astarabadi (July, 14, 1631—Oct., 19, 1631).

7. Mirza Rozbihani Ispahani (Oct. 19, 1631—Aug. 20, 1632).

8. Mir. Fasihuddin Md. Taqrishi (Aug. 20, 1632—29 March, 1634).

9. Shaikh Md. Tahir (29 March, 1634—17 Dec. 1635).

10. Abdullah Khan Mazandarani (17 March 1636—23 June 1637).

11. Mir Md. Sayeed (23 June 1637).

(D) Havaladar of Masulipatam.

1. Mulla Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi (c. 1627-8).

2. Mir Fasihuddin Md. Taqrishi (c. 1628).

3. Mirza Rozfihani Ispahani Sar-i-khail (c. 1630—2).

4. Mir Md. Sayeed (from 1635).

Miscellaneous Article

IBRĀHĪM OF GHAZNĀ, THE MĀTAṄGA SLAYER OF DURLABHARĀJA III OF ŚĀKAMBHARĪ.

By DASHARATHA SHARMA, BIKANER.

According to the *Prthvīrājaviṇaya*, Durlabharāja III of Śākambharī was slain in a battle with the *Mātangas*.¹ Jonarāja, the commentator on this *Kāvya*, equates them with the *Mlechchhas*², by which word we should probably understand the Muslims who have been described as such in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja Pratihāra and the Siwālik Pillar *prāśasti* of Vīgraharāja IV.³ The lateness of the source equating the *Mātangas* and the *Mlechchhas*⁴, however, should lead us seriously to doubt its accuracy, if there were not additional and more reliable evidence to prove that Muslim forces were, at the time, actually operating in Rājputānī and fighting against the Chauhāns and their relatives. According to a Chauhān Grant discovered a few years ago by Mm. Dr. G. H. Ojha, Āsarāja rescued his brother Prthvipāla, the ruler of Nāḍol and a contemporary of Durlabharāja III, from an attack by Turuṣka forces.⁵ Another

1 Mātangasaṅgare yasmin vīrasimhestamāgate
Aparāgonutāpaścha vidhinī prāpi karkaśaḥ } V. 70.

2 See the commentary on the above verse.

3 *E. I.*, XVIII, pp. 117ff., *I. A.*, XIX, p. 218.

4 The date of Jonarāja is about 1450 A. D.

5 See the words,

Prthvipālamahīpatirgajagatau ruddhah paraiḥ svairvina
stokenāpi balena śaktivaśato hattva Turuskotkarān
The Grant is unpublished till now.

Grant, discovered by the same veteran scholar, speaks of Āsarāja's brother-in-law Haripāla's fighting against a certain Hammīra who was not permitted by him to water his thirsty horses.¹ These two Grants thus provide evidence enough to prove that Jonarāja was right in identifying the *mātāṅgas* with Muslims and to conclude besides that Durlabharāja III most probably fell at the hands of the *Turuṣka-Hammīra* mentioned by them. As to who this *Turuṣka* ruler was and when exactly he invaded India, we find, on turning to the pages of Firishta's History, that, in 1079 A. D., Ibrāhīm of Ghaznā led a force into India which won many resounding victories and succeeded in penetrating to the western coasts of the country.² He is, I believe, the *Mātāṅga* or Muslim chief against whom Durlabharāja III, Prthvīpāla of Naḍol, and the brother-in-law of Prthvīpāla's brother Āsarāja had to fight in the course of his advance towards Gujarāt. That the word *Turuṣka-Hammīra* was in use for the rulers of Ghaznā might be seen from the *Lalitavigraharāja* drama,³ the *Turuṣkeśvara* of which too was, like Ibrāhīm, a descendant of the celebrated Mahmūd.⁴

1. Tadbhrāta Haripālanāma vidito Hammīraṣaṁkarako yadbhityā Turuṣkaturagai pitam tṣartairapi.

Lines 21-22 of the Grant.

2. Briggs, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 139.

3. Line 23 of the inscription containing the drama. The drama calls him Hammīra also.

4. This is the view held by Dr. H. C. Ray as well as other scholars.

Notes of the Quarters.

*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar
Research Society held in the Society's Office held
on Sunday, the 6th February, 1944.*

Present:—

1. The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir S. Fazl Ali, Kt. (in the Chair).
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.
3. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.
4. The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.
5. Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.
6. Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.
7. Mr. S. Bahadur.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 29th August, 1943.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months of August to December, 1943.

3. Confirmed payments of the following bills :—

	Rs.	a.
(a) Purchase of books from Mr. P. C. Manuk.	30	0
(b) " " " "	41	0
(c) Indian Photo Engraving Co. Bill No. P33/GR printing charges of plates for September issue 1943.	172	4

Rs. a.

(d) Patna Law Press Bill No.219/43 39 14
printing charges of Index for
the year 1942.

(e) Patna Law Press Bill No.321/43 249 6
printing charges of Journal
September issue, 1943.

4. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society :—

(a) R. A. Waddod, Esqr., B. A. (Cantab.),
Barrister-at-Law, New Kadamkuan.

(b) B. Harinandan Ram, Special Inspecting
Officer for the Education of the Depressed
Classes, Chota-Nagpur, Hazaribagh.

(c) Dr. Amara Nath Jha, M. A., Vice-
Chancellor, Allahabad University.

5. Resolved that Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.B.E.,
M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.) be requested to represent the
Society at the 160th Jubilee Celebration of the Royal
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

6. Confirmed leave on average pay from the 17th
December, 1943 to the 31st January, 1944 granted to
the Mithila Pandit on Medical grounds.

7. Considered arrangements for the Annual
General Meeting of the Society.

(a) Resolved that either the 25th or the 27th
March, 1944 whichever date His Excel-
lency approves of be tentatively fixed for
the Annual General Meeting.

(b) Resolved that Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji's offer to address the Annual Meeting be accepted.

(c) Resolved that the following Office bearers and Members of the Council for the year 1944 be recommended to be elected at the Annual Meeting :—

President :—His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President :—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary :—Mr. Sham Bahadur, M.B.E., Barrister-at-Law.

Treasurer :—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M. A.

Librarian :—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M. A.

Editorial Board :—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E.,
M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.).

Dr. Kali Kinkara Datta, M. A.,
Ph. D., P. R. S.

Prof. Dharmendra Brahmachari
Sastri, M. A.

Prof. Khan Sahib S. H. Askari,
M. A.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, who are ex-officio Members).

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. Litt.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

S. V. Sohoni, Esqr., I. C. S.

Dr. Kali Kinkara Datta, M A., Ph. D.,
P. R. S.

Khan Sahib S. H. Askari, M. A.

8. Resolved that Dr. Ganga Nath Jha Memorial Institute Journal be placed on the Society's Exchange list from 1944.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary General Secretary,
10-2-1944.

*Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the
Bihar Research Society held in the Patna University
Hall, Patna, on Saturday, the 25th March 1944,
at 6-30 p. m.*

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Patna University Hall, Patna, on Saturday, the 25th March, 1944, at 6-30 p. m. The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt., Vice-President of the Society, presided.

The following business was transacted :—

1. The President declared the meeting open.
2. On the motion by Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail, the following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1944-45 :—

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary—Mr. Sham Bahadur, M. B. E.

Treasurer—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M. A.

Librarian—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M. A.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E.,
M. A., D. Phil, (Oxon).

Dr. Kali Kinkar Datt, M. A.,
P. R. S., Ph. D.

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan
Askari, M. A.

Prof. Dharmendra Brahmachar
Sastri, M. A.

*Members of the Council (in addition to the President,
Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are
ex-officio members).*

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali,
Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bhuvaneshwar Prashad
Sinha.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. B. J. Sullivan, S. J.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. Litt.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.

S. V. Sohoni, Esq., I.C.S.

Dr. Kali Kinkar Datt, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D.

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M. A.

3. The Honorary Secretary and Honorary
Treasurer presented the Annual Report and the
Annual Statement of Accounts which were adopted.

4. The Vice-President reviewed the year's
work of the Society.

5. The President invited Dr. Radha Kumud
Mookerji, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D. to address the
meeting.

6. A lecture was delivered by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D. on "the University of Nalanda".

7. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

8. Mr. Sham Bahadur proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

9. The President declared the meeting closed.

Bihar Research Society

Annual Report for 1943-44.

I.—Membership.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1943 was 101. The Society lost twenty of its ordinary members (one by death and nineteen by removal). Three new members were enrolled in the course of the year. With the 11 Honorary members and 15 Life members, the total membership of the Society stands at 127.

At last year's Annual General Meeting the following were elected office-bearers of the Society and Members of the Council :—

President :—His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President :—The Hon'ble The Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary :—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E., M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.).

Treasurer :—Mr. Sham Bahadur, M. B. E.

Librarian :—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M. A.

Editorial Board :—The Hon'ble The Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E.,
M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.).

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members) :—

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. B. J. Sullivan, S. J.

R. E. Russell, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

Dr. Harichand Sastri, D. Litt.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil.

II.—Meetings.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 7th April, 1943 in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna, His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., President of the Society presiding. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by an interesting lecture on "Indian Painting" delivered by Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law.

Meetings of the Council were held on the 7th February, 14th March and 29th August, 1943.

III.—Journal.

During the period under review Parts 1-2, 3 and 4 of Volume XXIX of the Society's Journal containing 239 pages and 22 plates together with an Appendix of 72 pages of Bhojpuri Folk Songs have been published. Twenty plates were specimens of Patna School of Painting—19th Century, one was Calligraphy by Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) and one was Indo-Persian Painting of the 17th Century A. D.

IV.—Library.

During the year 64 books (66 volumes) and 97 Journals were added to the Library. Of the books 42 were presented, 19 were purchased and 3 were obtained by the exchange and of the Journals 12 were presented, 2 were purchased and 83 were obtained by exchange. On the 31st December, 1943 the Library contained 9121 volumes as compared with 9055 volumes of the previous year.

V.—Search for Manuscripts.

The Mithila Pandit continued his search of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts under the supervision of Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri from May, 1943 to January, 1944 in the district of Muzaffarpur. During the period under review he noticed 762 manuscripts.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary General Secretary.
13th March, 1944.



BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

Statement of Accounts from 1st April, 1943 to 29th February, 1944.

A. The actuals for 1942-43 showed a closing balance of Rs. 960-12-5 with the amount in Public account, *viz.*, Rs. 4,989-8-3 the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 5,950-4-8 at the end of 1942-43.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 29th February, 1944 the current account closing balance was Rs. 1,185-2-10. To this must be added the amount in the Public account, *viz.* Rs. 6,068-1-7 which gives a total of Rs. 7,253-4-5.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on the amount in the Public account. The subscriptions realised up to the 29th February, 1944 amounted to Rs. 1,061-12-11 up to the 29th February, 1943 the realised amount was Rs. 764. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 900.

Our realization from the sale proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 907-14-6 up to the end of February 1944. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 1,077. Interest on Public account for the year was Rs. 78-9-4.

13th March, 1944.

S. BAHADUR.
Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 29, 1944.

INCOME.

		Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
		Rs	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Subscription	..	1,061	12	11	900	0	0
Sale of Journal	..	869	14	6	474	8	0
Miscellaneous	..	62	9	6	..		
Postage, Recovered	..	24	15	0	..		
Sale of Cat. of Mithila Mss.		18	0	0	..		
Sale of Purnea Report	..	20	0	0	..		
Government Grant	..	5,133	0	0	3,133	0	0
Interest on P/A	..	78	9	4	..		
Opening Balance—							
Hathwa Fund	..	173	0	6	173	0	6
Darbhangha Fund	..	364	10	3	364	10	3
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	210	14	9½	210	14	9½
Tibetan Expedition	..	503	9	9	503	9	9
General Balance	..	4,698	1	4½	4,698	1	4½
GRAND TOTAL	..	13,219	1	11	12,457	12	8

13th March, 1944.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 29, 1944.**EXPENDITURE.**

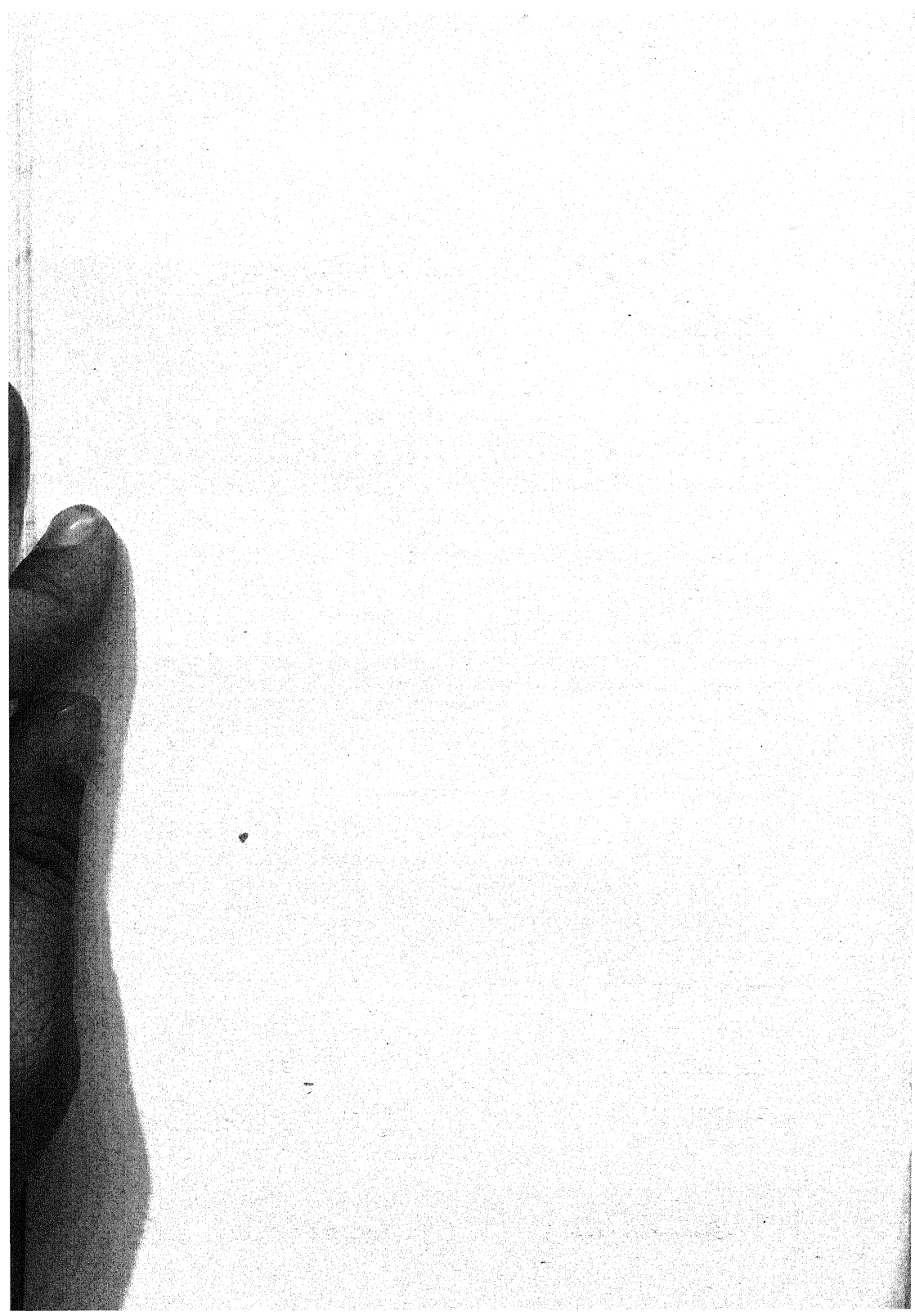
		Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Establishment	..	1,366	13	0	1,481	0	0
Mithila Pandit	..	1,378	9	6	1,608	0	0
Printing Charges	..	2,316	10	0	3,500	0	0
Postage	..	174	2	6	400	0	0
Stationery	..	80	1	3	100	0	0
Library	..	486	2	0	1,195	10	3
Electrical Charges	..	45	4	6	100	0	0
Miscellaneous	..	118	2	9	350	0	0
Furniture	..		..		1,000	0	0
TOTAL	..	5,965	13	6	9,734	10	3
CLOSING BALANCE	..	7,253	4	5	2,723	2	5
GRAND TOTAL	..	13,219	1	11	12,457	12	8

Details of Closing Balance on 29th February, 1944.

			Rs.	A.	P.
Hathwa Fund	..	..	193	0	6
Darbhanga Fund	..	..	382	10	3
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	..	210	14	9½
General Balance	..	..	5,963	1	1½
Tibetan Expedition	..	..	503	9	9
TOTAL	..	..	7,253	4	5

13th March, 1944.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.



JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XXX]

1944

[PART II

Leading Articles

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY 1943—44

By THE HON'BLE THE CHIEF JUSTICE SIR SAIYID FAZL ALI.

In reviewing the work of the Society during the past twelve months I shall briefly supplement the Honorary Secretary's report which has already been circulated to the members, by either mentioning a few additional facts or giving some further details about matters already dealt with in the report.

As you are aware the Society was founded in the year 1915 and since at that time Bihar and Orissa formed one province the Society was named as the "Bihar and Orissa Research Society". The Society, however, has received neither any monetary contribution nor any encouragement or support from the province of Orissa since its separation from Bihar, and so after some correspondence with the Government of Bihar it has been decided to change the nomenclature and call it henceforward the Bihar Research Society.

As the Secretary has mentioned in his report, the total membership of the Society stands to-day at 127 as against 142 which was the total number of the members at the date of the last annual meeting. Lest this fact should appear to be too discouraging it may be stated that no less than 19 members had to be removed because they had failed to pay their subscription for a considerable period and did not

respond to our letters asking them if they would like to continue as members.

In the course of the year we have added a number of books and journals to our Library which now contains 9121 books. The search for Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts has continued as before and it is satisfactory to note that the Mithila Pundit in the course of the year has been able to notice 762 manuscripts and has made some useful additions to our Library.

I have also pleasure in announcing that through the efforts of Khan Sahib Hasan Askari and Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ismail we expect to acquire at an early date a number of valuable Persian manuscripts for our Library.

Owing to shortage of paper and high prices we were obliged to economise in the printing of the Society's Journal by issuing a combined number for March and June and reducing the number of pages in the last volume to 239 with an appendix of 72 pages as against 488 pages of the preceding volume. The reduction of the printed matter, has, however, been counter-balanced to some extent by the inclusion of no less than 22 plates as against only 2 plates reproduced in the preceding volume.

Following the practice of previous years I will now briefly refer to the principal papers published in our Journal during the last twelve months.

In the first number of the Journal there are four leading articles one of which is by Mr. Anil Chandra Banerjee of Calcutta giving an account of the revival of the British alliance with Jaipur in 1818 after the treaty concluded by Lord Wellesley in 1803 had been cancelled in 1806. The account is based on contemporary records showing how despite local intrigues and other difficulties the Jaipur Darbar had to yield to Metcalfe's shrewd diplomatic pressure after a protracted negotiation extending over nearly two years.

The next paper is by professors Brij Narain and Sri Ram Sharma of D. A. V. College, Lahore, in which the learned authors have translated and reproduced an extract from a contemporary Dutch chronicle narrating certain important events in the reign of Jahangir.

Another paper is by Mr. Jagdish Narain Sarkar of Patna College giving an account of the influence wielded by Khalifa-i-Sultan,

a Wazir of Shah Abbas II of Persia. Mr. Sarkar has also reproduced a letter from Shah Abbas II to Mir Jumla in reply to a communication by the latter in which threatened with destruction by Abdulla Qutb Shah he had agreed to join the Persian Royal service.

In the same number Dr. K. K. Basu gives an account of the trade of Bhagalpur in the 19th century and Mr. Shere, Curator of the Patna Museum, describes 12 silver coins appertaining to the reign of two Khalji kings which were unearthed in a mango grove in the district of Shahabad and subsequently acquired under the Treasure Trove Act.

Some of you may be aware that several new frescos were brought to light when some conservation work in Ajanata Caves was being conducted by the Archaeological department of the Hyderabad State in 1932-33. Mr. Dikshit of the Bombay Historical Research Institute has contributed a paper in which he has given his own interpretation of one of these frescos differing in certain respects from the description of Mr. Yazdani to be found in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for 1932.

Another notable paper is by Mr. M. L. Roy Choudhury of Calcutta University entitled "The Hindu contribution to Persian Literature". The author has collected in this paper the names of the Hindu poets who flourished during the reign of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb and he has also given a list of certain authors of Oudh, Bihar and other places who have written on scientific and literary subjects in Persian.

Dr. Banerjee-Sastri has also contributed an interesting paper styled "Neoplatonists and Indian Philosophers" in which after reviewing the doctrine preached by some of the neoplatonists he sums up his conclusion in these words:—

"If we now have a retrospect of the results of the preceding explanations, we have found such unmistakable agreements between Indian religious and philosophical doctrine on the one side, and those of Gnostics, Manichaeans and Neoplatonists on the other that a mutual communication cannot be denied."

Another notable article is by Mr. Archer of the Indian Civil Service on a subject of some ethnographic interest in which he gives a short account of village poetry in Chota Nagpur and compares the

main characteristics of such poetry with those of Hindu village poetry outside Chota Nagpur.

The whole of the September number is devoted to an interesting article by Mr. Manuk on the Patna School of Painting in the 19th century in which he has dealt mainly with the work of the last of the important painters of the Patna School Mr. Ishwari Prasad who was the late Vice-Principal and Professor of fine arts at the School of Art, Calcutta, and has reproduced 20 plates treating them as the best specimens of the Patna School of Painting.

In the December number Mr. Shere, Curator of the Patna Museum, reproduces and describes a painting which was acquired for the Patna Museum in 1934. On the reverse of the painting there is a fine specimen of Persian calligraphy which the writer attributes to Prince Khurram, later known as Emperor Shah Jahan, giving his reasons for arriving at that conclusion.

The next article is by Mr. Bhupesh Chandra Mukherji of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta who gives an account of the consolidation of the British Rule in Assam in 1826 based on certain unpublished records preserved in the Imperial Record office, New Delhi, and seeks to throw some light on the first attempt of the East India Company's officers to introduce good Government in the Brahmaputra valley.

Another paper published in this number is Vira Vairagi Laskari which has been contributed, jointly by Mr. Justice Varma and Mr. Trivedi and gives an account of this comparatively obscure sect of the Vaishnavas and its activities.

In another article Mr. Moreshwar Dikshit of Bombay deals with the inscription of Aparaditya which once belonged to the collection of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and is now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay.

This brief review of the main topics dealt with in the last volume of the Journal will show that in spite of being handicapped by war conditions the Society has continued to serve the cause of learning as before and it has also maintained the high tone of its publications.

Dr. Banerjee-Sastri has been associated with the work of the Society for many years and the Society has been greatly benefited by his researches as well as the active help rendered by him in carrying

on its work. His absence from Patna has been a great loss to the Society, but I am glad to say that he is still as keenly interested in the affairs of the Society as before and continues to be prominently associated with the editing of its Journal.

The thanks of the Society are due to him and also to Mr. Sham Bahadur and Mr. Taraporewala for their valuable services as Secretary and Treasurer of the Society respectively and to the members of the Council for the keen interest they have displayed in carrying on the work of the Society.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NĀLANDĀ¹

By RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M. A., PH. D., P. R. S.

Professor of History, Lucknow University.

Sources: The history of Nālandā as derived from different sources, literary texts, and antiquities of various periods and classes, such as structural remains, works of art, sculptures, inscriptions on copper-plates, on stone, on seals and plaques, and coins, as unearthed by archaeological excavation, is fairly well-known. I do not intend in this paper to tread broken ground and repeat the known. My endeavour will be to present some known facts in their new relations and draw out their implications which have not received adequate attention.

Post-Graduate University: Foreign Students: The first fact to be known about Nālandā is that it was not a University in the modern sense of the term. It was a University confined to post-graduate study, a centre of research, like the Institute of Science at Bangalore. As such, it attracted foreign scholars hailing from distant countries. Its reputation as a seat of the highest learning then available in Asia led them to seek it against all odds, the hardships, the difficulties, and the risks attending journeys in those days along the land-routes to India, and also sea-routes. Scholars came to Nālandā from countries like China, Japan, Korea [J. R. A. S. XIII, N. S., p. 556], Mongolia [p. 26 of Takakusu's I-tsing], Tukhāra [Ib. p. 566], Tibet and Ceylon [Ib. pp. 563-4].

Yuan Chwang and I-tsing: It is a matter of singular good fortune that copious and concrete details of the working of the Nālandā University are given by two learned Chinese scholars on the basis of the direct experience and inside knowledge gained by them as students in residence at the University for sufficiently long periods. The first of these scholars was Yuan Chwang who had been a resident student of the University for 5 years (c. 635-640 A. D.) and was followed by

¹ The substance of this paper was the subject of the Annual Lecture which I delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society held at Patna on 25th March, 1944.

I-tsing who stayed at Nālandā as a student for as many as 10 years from 675 A. D.

One of the attractions of Nālandā as well as of other Schools of India to foreign scholars was its collection of sacred works and relics. Yuan Chwang brought home from India as many as 657 MSS together with "images of the Buddha and his saints in gold and silver, and crystal, and sandalwood, many curious pictures, 150 true relics of the Buddha," which had to be "borne on 20 horses." I-tsing's acquisition comprised some 400 Sanskrit texts containing 500,000 ślokas, and also 300 relics.

Students from Korea: Some of the realistic and refreshing details of education at Nālandā may be briefly mentioned. Two students from Korea achieved great distinction by their study at Nālandā. The first was named Āryavarmā who came to Nālandā in A. D. 630 and died here at 70. The second Korean scholar is named Hwui Yieh who also died at Nālandā at the age of 60. I-tsing found the following line written on a Chinese MS. at Nālandā: "The Korean priest Hwui Yieh wrote this record."

We know these names, because I-tsing happened to note them. Many were the foreign scholars at Nālandā whose names were not thus noted. I-tsing states that in the interval of about 40 years, before and after Yuan Chwang, as many as 56 scholars visited India from such foreign countries as China, Japan and Korea, most of whom came to Nālandā for study by travelling by land *via* Khoten, Tibet, and Nepal, while some came by way of the sea *via* Tāmralipti.

Fortunately, I-tsing has mentioned the names of some of these foreign scholars who were his contemporaries at Nālandā. Some of these are mentioned below :—

(1) Śramaṇa Hiuen-Tchao (Prakāśamati). He studied at Nālandā for 3 years (c. A. D. 660) under his teacher, Jinaprabha, the Mādhyamika Śāstra and the Śata-Śāstra and, later, Yoga under Ratnasimha.

(2) Tao-hi (Śrī-deva) who dwelt for years at Nālandā as a student of Mahāyāna.

(3) Fo-touo-ta-mouo (Buddhadharma), a native of Tukharestan, whom I-tsing met at Nālandā.

(4) Tao-Cheng (Chandradeva) (A. D. 649) who won royal esteem by his eminence in learning.

(5) Ta-Cheng-teng (Mahāyāna-pradīpa) who first learnt Sanskrit by 12 years' study at Tāmralipti and then came to Nālandā in the company of I-tsing.

(6) Tao-lin (Śīlaprabha) who resided at Nālandā for many years as a student of Mahāyāna, coming to India by sea-route.

(7) Ling-yun (Prajñādeva) who was a student of fine art at Nālandā and painted the Maitreya and the Bodhidruma.

(8) Tche-hong who came from a Chinese aristocratic family, being the nephew of Ambassador Wang-Hiuen-tse, and became a student of Mahāyāna at Nālandā.

(9) Ou-hing (a second Prajñādeva) who studied at Nālandā Yoga, the Kośas and Rules of Discipline and also practised Yoga and meditation (Vipāśyana) [p. 192 of Nilakantha Sastri's Article on Nālandā in *Madras University Journal* XIII, 2].

As regards I-tsing himself, he first stayed for a year at Nālandā studying Śabdavidyā and Mahāyāna and later came back, and lived for 10 years at Nālandā, studying the lives of the saints.

I-tsing was followed by several other Chinese scholars like Ou-Kong who lived at Nālandā for 3 years (c. A. D. 765-8); and Ki-ye, who came to India about 970 A. D. and visited Nālandā.

Difficulties of Travelling. Glimpses of some of the difficulties encountered by these foreign scholars on their way to India are also given. Fa-hien who travelled in India between A. D. 399-414 states that he passed through about 30 countries where at places "death seemed inevitable" [Legge's *Fa-hien*, p. 117]. Yuan Chwang says that "alone he had crossed trackless wastes, and bravely climbed mountains high beyond conjecture, even chilled by icy wind, and cold with eternal snow" [p. 12 of Watters). The difficulties due to man were sometimes greater, such as detention and arrest in hostile territory. Once a royal host grew too fond of him till he had to resort to hunger-strike to obtain release from his clutches.

Difficulty of Admission. What led students from these distant countries, through centuries, to face the risks of such journeys to India? It was their zeal for the learning and culture of India. It was no mere elementary education they were seeking. They were out on quest of the higher knowledge of which Nālandā was the most

famous centre in the East. Admission to Nālandā as an Academy of advanced study and research was, accordingly, not very easy. It was in the hands of a Board of Specialist who held a difficult test for it. As stated by Ywan Chwang [Watters, II. 165], "only two or three out of ten" could pass that entrance test. "The majority, beaten by the difficulties of the problems, withdraw, even of those from abroad." This means that only 20% were passed at the Entrance examination of Nālandā, and 80% were failed. The severity of the examination was necessary to maintain the standard of its learning for which the University was so far-famed. Yuan Chwang points out that "foreign students came to Nālandā to put an end to their doubts and then to become celebrated" [ib]. They came to complete at Nālandā the investigations upon which they had been engaged at home. This should be the aim of all students seeking further education in foreign countries. The highest academic honour of the times was a Fellowship of Nālandā, the stamp of its student-ship. Yuan Chwang says: "Those who stole the name of Nālandā brother (or student) were all treated with respect wherever they went" [ib]. No wonder that this coveted *imprimatur* of Nālandā lent itself to the practice of fraud for its acquisition.

I-tsing [p. 177 of Takakusu] also records the same facts. At Nālandā, "there assemble eminent and accomplished men in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and, after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, became far-famed for their wisdom." Thus the students of Nālandā were already "eminent and accomplished" in learning, and looked to the "wise men" of Nālandā, its teachers, to complete their learning.

Learning by Discussion. The method of learning pursued at Nālandā, its pedagogic principles and practices, were shaped by the contents and character of that learning. Learning was by discussion, and interrogation. As noted by Yuan Chwang [Life, p. 112]: "Learning and discussing, they found the day too short; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors, mutually helping to perfection."

Number of Teachers and Taught. The most striking and singular feature of Nālandā was that, although 't was a post-graduate Institute for higher study and research, it was the largest residential University

which India has known to this day. The number of its students in residence in Yuan Chwang's time "always" came up to 10,000, counting in that number "the priests belonging to the convent or strangers residing therein [*Life*, p. 112.] Yuan Chwang further computes that, out of these 10,000 resident scholars, 1510 were teachers and 8,500 students. Of these teachers, he thus describes their intellectual attainment: "there are 1000 men who can explain 20 collections of Sūtras and Śāstras; 500 who can explain 30 collections, and perhaps 10 who can explain 50 collection" [*Ib.*] I-tsing counts the number of fully ordained Monks at 3500.

The proportion of the number of teachers to that of the taught works out to be 1 to 5 and indicates the extent to which it was possible for a teacher to give his individual attention to the pupils belonging to the small tutorial group committed to his care.

Number of Daily Lectures. It is also stated by Yuan Chwang that these teachers delivered between them every day as many as 100 Lectures or Discourses, "and the students attend those Discourses without any fail, even for a minute" [*Ib.*] Thus we may take it that a hundred different subjects were being daily taught by the teachers to as many different classes of students, while the fact that the discourses of the teachers were always attended by the students concerned shows that the teaching work of the institution was going on at all working hours. There are few educational institutions that conduct 100 different classes of research students in as many different subjects.

Variety of Studies. Accordingly, the Courses of Study offered by the Nālandā University covered a wide range of knowledge, perhaps the entire knowledge which was then available in the country. They were drawn from the different fields of learning, Brahmanical, and Buddhist, sacred and secular, philosophical and practical, science and arts. The students at Nālandā, as stated in the *Life* [*Ib.*], "all study the Great Vehicle, and also the works belonging to the eighteen sects, and not only so, but even ordinary works, such as the Vedas and other books, the Hetuvidyā, Śabdavidyā, the Chikitsāvidyā, the works on Magic or Atharvaveda, the Sāṃkhya; besides these, they thoroughly investigate the "miscellaneous" works" [*Ib.*]. Yuan Chwang himself became a student of Nālandā for the study of Yoga Śāstra in which the Nālandā Chancellor, Śīlabhadra, was the highest living authority [*Ib.*, p. 107.] In reply to a question put by Śīlabhadra, Yuan Chwang said: "I am come from the country of China, desiring to learn from your instruction the principles

of the Yoga-Śāstra." His study of the Yoga-Śāstra was followed by that of other subjects like Nyāya, Hetuvidyā, Śābdavidyā and the like, as also of the books of Brāhmaṇas, with the wide area of knowledge covered by them, including philological, legal, philosophical, astronomical subjects, and the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini [*Life*, p. 121.] Among the works studied by him are specifically mentioned the Nyāya-Anusāra-Śāstra a Sarvāstivādin Hīnayāna work, the Prāṇyamūla-śāstra-ṭīkā, a Mādhyamika Māhayāna work, the Śatasāstra of Āryadeva, Kosa, Vibhāṣhā, Shaṭpadābhidharma-Śāstra and the like. "Thus he penetrated, and examined completely all the collections of Buddhist books and also studied the sacred books of Brāhmaṇas during five years" [*Id.*, p. 125.] Thus Nālandā was the centre of all higher learning in all its branches. And so, while it attracted a keen student of Māhayāna like Yuan Chwang who, though already a "Master of Law", and honoured as such in India, yet found it profitable to stay there for some time for further study, it equally attracted keen students of Hīnayāna like I-tsing who took advantage of its education for fully a decade. Verily, Nālandā had the merit of collecting at one centre the master of every subject of learning.

Harmony in diversity: This wide diversity of studies brought to the University diverse Schools of Thought. The academic life of the University gave itself up to lively discussions among them of their respective doctrines and practices. The students of Nālandā were not a homogeneous community. They were drawn from different denominations of the Buddhist Church and carried into the University all the differences of its different sects and creeds. What added further to the heterogeneous composition of the University was its admission of the students of non-Buddhistic systems of learning. Nālandā flung its gates wide open to all systems and schools of thought and gave full scope to their expression. The University resolved itself into "Schools of Discussion." It brought together Schools whose "tenets would keep them isolated," and thus became the common meeting-ground of the warring sects and creeds with all their "possible and impossible doctrines" [I-tsing already cited.] Thus, while the intellectual life of the University was a round of animated controversies and hottest debates between contradictory and incompatible opinions and beliefs, these did not affect its academic atmosphere of repose and peace marking a seat of culture. Nālandā thus boldly

of Brahminical learning that Fa-hien has not noticed it in the record of his travel in early fifth century A.D.

Rāhulabhadra: Rāhulabhadra was another famous teacher at "Śrī Nālandā" in the time of "King Chandra who erected 14 fragrant Halls and 14 incomparable religious schools" [S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Mediaeval Indian Logic*, p. 146].

Nālandā Scholars in foreign Countries: These creative geniuses who served Nālandā as its teachers themselves created many distinguished teachers who helped in the spread of Indian thought in foreign countries. The trained scholars of Nālandā worked on that mission in a spirit of utter self-sacrifice in the cause of Learning and Truth in countries like Tibet and China, as exiles from their native land, away from their hearths and homes, kith and kin. It is to be noted that these scholars had to acquire for their work in these countries the necessary linguistic equipment, a mastery of languages like Sanskrit and Pali, Tibetan and Chinese, so as to be able to translate into foreign languages the difficult philosophical texts in Sanskrit or Pali. It was these scholars who were the builders of a Greater India beyond the boundaries of India, of an empire of Indian thought, not limited by barriers of space, and based on brotherhood, unlike empires won by force and violence. Thus Nālandā maintained several linguistic Schools, those of Sanskrit and Pali, Tibetan and Chinese.

The Tibetan *Tripitaka* mentions the contributions made by the books and scholars of Nālandā in building up the culture and civilization of Tibet. The works of Ārya Deva, Śīlabhadra, Dharmapāla (of the time of Yuan Chwang), and Chandragomin (of the 8th century) were translated into Tibetan. Among Nālandā scholars who settled down for work in Tibet are mentioned Śāntarakṣita (about A. D. 749), Padmasambhava (who went to Tibet in A. D. 747), Kamalaśīla, an associate of the first two, Sthiramati, and Buddhakīrti,

Of Nālandā scholars working in China, the more famous were Kumārajīva and Paramārtha, the translator of the *Life of Vasubandhu*, (of the 5th century A. D.), Śubhākara Simha (of 8th century) and Dharmadeva who, during 40 years, A. D. 960—1000 A. D., translated into Chinese as many as 118 Buddhist texts.

Nālandā thus functioned through several centuries as a most creative Academy of Higher Learning. It drew foreign students from

distant countries to live at Nālandā as Indians, assuming Sanskrit names, while it also sent out its own scholars to foreign countries seeking its learning. It produced the men that could carry the message of India's thought abroad.

The Nālandā scholars also acquitted themselves creditably in the public life of the country. I-tsing tells us how they frequented "the king's Court and its House of Debate to show their talents, present their systems, and seek appointments in the practical government". They were rewarded by the king with grants of land.

We may now give in brief the glorious history of this unique institution on the basis of both literary and epigraphic evidence.

Notices of Nālandā in early Jain and Buddhist Texts. The earliest notices of Nālandā occur in Jain and Buddhist texts.

The *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* [SBE, XLV, pp. 419-20] refers to Nālandā as a *bāhya* or an outlying part of the city (*nagara*) of Rājāgṛiha. It had "many hundreds of buildings." Its leading citizen was Lepa possessed of much property, "houses, beds, seats, vehicles, chariots, food and drink, servants, male and female, cows, buffaloes, and sheep." At this prosperous place, "Bhagavān Mahāvīra spent 14 rainy seasons" [*Kalpa-Sūtra* Jacobi, p. 64.]

References to Nālandā occur in Buddhist Texts like *Dīghanikāya* [Vol. I, p. 1; II. 81, 83, 211-12 etc; *Majjhima Nikāya*, I. 371-72, 377 f; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, part II, 110; part IV, 110, 311 f, 322 f; V. 159]. These mention the Buddha sojourning (*viharati*) in the mango-grove (*amba-vana*) called Pāvārika at Nālandā which was at a distance of *yojana* from Rājāgṛiha.

A Sinhalese work of 14th century, named *Nikāyasamgraha*, by Dharmakīrti mentions that, after the third Buddhist Council (*Śaṅgīti*) was held in the time of Asoka under Moggaliputta Tissa, some heretical monks (*Tīrthakas*) went over to Nālandā where they formed themselves into a dissenting sect called *Mahāsāṅghika* in opposition to the orthodox Sthaviravāda school. Schisms in the Buddhist Saṅgha were known in the time of Asoka who refers to them in both Sarnath and Sanchi Pillar Edicts. After the Buddha, Nālandā developed as a seat of the Sarvāstivādin School or Mahāyāna, as the adjoining Uddanāpuri (modern Bihar Sharif) became the centre of Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna [see *Memoir* No. 66 of Arch. Survey by Hirananda Shastri for all these references.]

According to these texts, Nālandā was quite a prosperous place in the sixth century B. C. in the time of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. Yuan Chwang records the story that its original grounds were an orchard of mango-trees bought of its owner named Śreshṭhi Amra by 500 merchants for the Buddha [Watters, II, 164.] The Pali texts cited above tell of the Mango-Grove called Pāvārika where the Buddha used to stay when coming to Nālandā. According to Tārānātha, "the first founder of the Nālandā Vihāra was Asoka."

History of its building. The later history of Nālandā is indicated in its association with literary celebrities like Nāgārjuna, from 2nd century A D., as related by Tārānātha. On the other hand, we have to face the fact that Nālandā did not receive any notice of Fa-hien and that archaeological excavation has not brought to light any antiquity earlier than the copper-plate ascribed to Samudragupta and the coin of Kumāra Gupta I. But it may be noted that the Main Stūpa unearthed at Site No. 3 is shown to be made up of seven successive strata and also surrounded by a number of small votive Stūpas built up in two or three layers. On one of these votive Stūpas is found an inscription of the sixth century A. D. which may be taken to be the date of the particular stratum of the Main Stūpa with which it is associated. This is the fifth stratum or Stūpa which is also the best preserved. From the date of this fifth building, we can infer the date of the lowest and earliest Stūpa. It must be about two centuries earlier i. e., about fourth century A. D. Yuan Chwang also dates the developments of Nālandā from Gupta times. He states that its first Monastery was the gift of king Śakrāditya who may be identified with Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya (A. D. 413-455) on the ground that *Mahendra* is another name for *Sakra*. The Śakrāditya Monastery was followed by the construction of Monasteries by later Gupta kings called by Yuan Chwang Buddhagupta, Tathāgata-gupta, Bālāditya, and Vajra "These six kings in connected succession added to these structures," the sixth king being "king of Mid-India," who cannot be Harsha as he is taken by Yuan Chwang to be an earlier king, but may be a king of the Maukhari Dynasty, many of whose seals are found at Nālandā and show their connection with it. Buddhagupta and Narasimhagupta Bālāditya are known Gupta kings. Both Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, however, record traditions dating the growth of Nālandā to earlier times.

I-tsing also mentions a temple built at Nālandā (Na-lan-tonlo) by king Śrī Śakrāditya¹ (Che-li-che-kie-lono-tie-ti) for Bhikshu Rājavaṃśa.

We may now pause to give an account of Nālandā at its best in the time of Yuan Chwang and Emperor Harsha. Harsha made his own contribution to the expansion of Nālandā. He remitted "the revenues of about a hundred villages as an endowment of the convent" whose monks he loved to serve [Beal, *Life*, p. 160]. This gift was, indeed, worthy of emperor Harsha whose philanthropy and quinquennial charities at his Assemblies are unparalleled in history. To Harsha's Assembly at Kanauj Nālandā sent a contingent of about 1000 Monks.

Description by Yuan Chwang: Many must have been its buildings to accommodate its vast population which "always reached to the number of 10,000." Yuan Chwang speaks of at least 7 Monasteries and 8 Halls. The Monasteries were of several storeys whose "upper rooms tower above the clouds." "Their richly adorned towers and fairy-like turrets resembled pointed hill-tops." "The Observatories were lost in the morning mists." "From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds produce new forms". The buildings containing the rooms of teachers were of "four storeys". I-tsing saw 8 Halls and 300 apartments. One of the University Library buildings was of nine storeys, while the building in which was installed the

1. The identification of these kings is difficult. The identification of Śakrāditya with Kumāragupta I cannot be taken for granted, because Yuan Chwang places the reign of Śakrāditya "soon after the decease of the Buddha" while his biographer states that "after the nirvāṇa of Buddha, an old king of this country called Śakrāditya built this convent", and that, at the time of his writing (A. D. 688) Nālandā had already existed for "seven hundred years" [*Life*, pp. 110-112]. Beal infers from these statements that Śakrāditya was a king of the 1st century B. C. and cannot be identified with Kumāragupta I. According to Tārānātha cited above, the first Vihāra at Nālandā was built by Aśoka. There are, however, good epigraphic grounds for some of this identification. In the *Life*, the kings mentioned by Yuan Chwang succeeded one another as father and son. Tathāgatagupta may be taken to be another name by which Purugupta was known for his Buddhist leanings shown by sending his son Bālāditya to Vasubandhu for his education, as stated by Paramārtha in his *Life of Vasubandhu*. Gupta inscriptions are fond of calling the Gupta kings after God Indra. Chandragupta II is given the name Devarāja and Kumāra Gupta I the name of Mahendra. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription describes Samudragupta as the equal of Indra. The Kahaum stone Pillar Inscription describes Skandagupta as resembling Śakra (*Sakropama*) so that there is nothing strange in applying the name Śakrāditya to his father. To add to all this evidence, we may consider that of the literary work *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-Kalpa* naming the following kings succeeding one another, viz., Samudra, Vikrama, Mahendra, and Devarāja, corresponding to the kings Samudragupta, Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya, Kumāra Gupta Mahendrāditya and Skanda Gupta. Thus in those days the Gupta kings were freely given some of the names of God Indra. On the whole, the available evidence cannot settle the identification of the names with certainty.

80 feet high copper image of the Buddha by king Pūrṇavarmā was one of six storeys [Watters, II: 171]. I-tsing also states that the buildings were in bricks and comprised three storeys, each 10' high, while of the temple, "the top floor soars into the sky and makes one giddy in the open." He also refers to Halls meant for the exclusive accommodation of 'learned and venerable monks,' i. e., the teachers, the cells being intended for the pupils presumably. He saw 8 temples at Nālandā. Yuan Chwang describes the Bālāditya College as made up of "four storeys." It had a separate dwelling assigned to the teacher Buddhahadra who was Yuan Chwang's first host at Nālandā and "entertained him for 7 days," after which his residence was arranged for. It is also stated that the President had to treat "a myriad of priests" as his guests, "men from every quarter," at the Nālandā, Monastery, with its "six wings." If the Hostels were to accommodate 10,000 monks, we have to infer that a Monastery of 4 storeys should accommodate 1500 inmates or about 400 per storey so that 7 such monasteries could accommodate 10,000. It is also possible that, besides the buildings in brick and mortar the University must have had any number of leafy huts suiting the ideals and needs of the intellectuals who believed in 'plain living and high thinking'.

The *University Library*. Besides its housing or residential accommodation, the University had to house a library to suit the diversity of its studies and standard of its scholarship. The library was located in a special area to which the appropriate name of *Dharma-gaṇja*, "the Mart of Piety," was applied. It was made up of three huge buildings bearing the three appropriate names of *Ratnasāgara*, *Ratnodadhi* and *Ratna-rañjaka*, all repositories of gems (of learning) like the oceans. *Ratnasāgara* was a nine-storeyed building in which was conserved the collection of rare sacred works like *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and Tāntrika books like *Samājaguhya* and the like. Very probably, *Ratnarañjaka* was the library for *belles lettres*, a sort of a 'Palace of Arts', while the other two libraries contained works of Philosophy and Religion [Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p. 146].

Remains excavated: Some of these architectural observations of the Chinese students of Nālandā have been confirmed by archaeological discoveries. There has been brought to light, for instance, a flight

of steps pointing to at least 3 storeys of a particular Monastery. But the excavations undertaken after a lapse of about 1000 years cannot show Nālandā as it was in the days of Yuan Chwang and I-tsing. They have unearthed 12 Monasteries so far, and 9 layers, levels, or strata in one. The remains of other Monasteries show two or three strata, one built upon the ruins of the other. The plan of the buildings corresponds to the description of the Chinese students. Rows of cells served by wide verandahs resting on pillars opened into a rectangular courtyard accommodating a well, and, sometimes, a row of ovens serving as fire-places for carrying on metallurgical processes for the fashioning of bronze images and other metallic articles. The cells meant for meditation did not contain any openings for ventilation [Guide to Nālandā by A. Ghosh].

Inscriptions : Besides structures, excavation has brought to light several inscriptions giving interesting facts in the later history of Nālandā. The Shahpur Stone Image Inscription (found at Bihar) of the Harsha year 66 (=A. D. 672) records the installation by General (*Balādhikṛita*) Śālapaksha in the reign of Ādityasenadeva of an image at Nālandā-mahāgrahāra which counted as a seat of Brahminical learning and religion.

Yaśovarmmadeva : An inscription of the time of Yaśovarmmadeva (the Maukhari King of A. D. 729-43) records gifts made to Nālandā by the son of his Minister, and also the construction of a temple of the Buddha, high as a hill, by King Bālāditya. It refers to Nālandā's learned men well-versed in the knowledge of the *Āgamas* and *Kalās*, sacred texts and the fine arts and crafts, and also to its multiplicity of Vihāras (*vihārāvātī*) the row of whose summits (*śikhara-śreṇī*) kissed the clouds (*ambudhārā-valehī*). It is also stated that this *prasaṁsita* was composed by two Monks of Nālandā under the orders of the *Samgha*. They are named Śīlabhadra and Svāmidatta.

Patronage of Pāla Kings : *Dharmapāla and Devapāla* : The Maukharis were followed by the Pālas as Patrons of Nālandā as shown by their inscriptions. The earliest of these inscriptions is the one mentioning the second Pāla King *Dharmapāladeva*. Several inscriptions found at Nālandā belong to the reign of Devapāladeva, while the one found at Ghosrawa records the following interesting history : At Nagarahāra in Uttarāpatha (also called Udichipatha) lived Indragupta and Rajjeka to whom was born a son named

Viradeva who became a monk (*pravrajyaya*) and joined the *Kanishka Mahāvihāra* under Sarvajñasānti as his teacher. He then visited Mahābodhi, and, thence, the Vihāra of Yasovarmanmapura to see there the Monks of his own Province. There, the King of that region (*Bhuvanādhipa*), Devapāla, treated him with all reverence, while the Assembly of Monks of Nālandā appointed him (*Śaṅgha-sthiter-yaḥ-sthitaḥ*) as Administrator (*Nālandāpari pālānāya-niyataḥ*) of that great Institution decorated by a ring of famous vihāras (*Śrīmad vihāra parihara-vibhūṣita*) in succession to Monk Satyabodhi, his bosom friend (*ātmasamasukṛit*).

Devapāla and Bālaputra: An inscription on a copper-plate issued by King Devapāladeva in his 39th regnal year (c. A.D. 815-854) mentions Mahārāja Bālaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty, ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa (Java-Sumatra), son of Queen Tārā, daughter of King Dharmasetu, and of King who was the son of the ruler of Yavabhūmi. The mother of Bālaputradeva is named but not his father, while his grandfather is described as *Yava-bhūmipāla* and *Śrī-vira-vairīmathana*. He sent a request to King Devapāladeva through his ambassador (*dūtaka*) named Balavarmma, Chief (*adhipati*) of the *Maṇḍala* named Vyāghrataṭṭi (*Suvarṇa-dvīpādhipa-Mahārāja-Śrī-Bālaputradevena dūtaka-mukhena vāyam viñāpitāḥ*). *Vyāghrataṭṭi Maṇḍala* belonged to Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* and hence to the Pāla Empire [Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāladeva, *IA*, pp. 253—58]. At his request, Devapāladeva made a grant of 5 villages in aid of a *vihāra* which had been already established by Bālaputradeva at Nālandā (*Mayā-Śrī-Nālandāyam Vihāraḥ Kāritaḥ*). The five villages granted by the Pāla King were named Nandivanāka, Manivāṭaka, Naṭika, and Hastigrāma, belonging to the *Vishaya* (district) of Rājagṛiha and to the sub-divisions (*naya*) named Ajapura, Pilipinka and Achalā; and the village Pālāmaka of Gaya *Vishaya*, and of sub-division (*vīthī*) Kumuda-sūtra, under Śrī-Nagara *bhukti* (Patna Province). This endowment was to make provision for the supply of the necessities of the Monks of the Monastery such as "offerings (*balī*), oblations (*charu*), shelter (*śatra*), robes (*chīvara*), alms (*piṇḍapāta*), beds (*śayanāsana*), requisites for the sick such as medicines and the like (*glāna-pratyaya-bhesajyādi*); for the writing of religious texts (*dharma-ratnasya lekhanādi*); and for the upkeep and repair of the monastery. The Inscription describes Devapāladeva as a devout Buddhist (*paramasaugata*) and applies to

him the other usual epithets of sovereignty such as *Paramēśvara-Paramabhāttāraka—Mahārājādhirāja-S'rīmān*.

The provision for *Bali* and *Charu* as Vedic ritualistic offerings shows that the Bālaputradeva College, like the parent foundation of Nālandā, was not an exclusive centre of Buddhist education but admitted of Brahmanical studies and practices pursued by non-Buddhist students on its rolls.

The College was also known as a Centre of Tāntrika Buddhism. The Inscription describes its *Ārya-bhikṣu-saṅgha* or the governing body, as a *Tāntrika-Bodhisatvagana*.

Offices: This inscription, which is a unique document of ancient Indian history, with its references to Nālandā and the intercourse between India and Java-Sumatra, also throws interesting light on administration. The royal land-grants were proclaimed in those days before an assembly of the persons and parties concerned, officials and non-officials. In the present case, the following officers were present at the assembly ; (1) *Rājarāṇaka* (2) *Rājaputraka* (3) *Rājāmatya* (4) *Mahākārttākṛitika* (5) *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (6) *Mahāpratihāra* (7) *Mahāsāmanta* (8) *Mahādauḥsādhasāadhanika* (9) *Mahākumārāmātya* (10) *Pramātri* (11) *Sarabhaṅga* (12) *Rājasthānīya* (13) *Uparika* (14) *Vishaya-pati* (15) *Dāsāparādhika* (16) *Chūuroddharanika* (17) *Dāṇḍika* (18) *Dāṇḍaśāsika* (19) *Saulkika* (20) *Gaulmika* (21) *Kshetrapāla* (22) *Kotāpāla* (23) *Khaṇḍaraksha* (24) *Taa-yuktaka* (25) *Viniyuktaka* (26) *Hastyaśvoshtṛanaubalavyāpṛitika* (27) *Kiśoravaḍavā-go-mahishyadhikṛita* (28) *Dūtāpraishanika* (29) *Gamāgamika* (30) *Abhitvaramāṇaka* (31) *Tarika* and (32) *Tara-patika*. Among the non-official parties and persons assembled are mentioned the *Oḍras*, the *Mālavas*, the *Khaṣas*, the *Kulikas*, the *Karṇṇāṭas*, the *Hūṇas*, the *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas* (village officers and dependants), the *Brāhmaṇottaras*, the *Mahattaras*, the *Kuṭumbas*, the *Purogas*, the *Medas*, the *Āndhrakas* down to the *Chāṇḍālas*.

Village Revenue. There was also an exhaustive enumeration of the benefits or sources of income transferred to the beneficiary by the royal land-grant ; " Undivided lands attached to the village (besides those parcelled out among tenants) ; entire area up to the boundaries ; grass—and pasture—lands ; grounds, places, mango and *madhuka* trees ; water and dry lands ; *uparikaras*, *dāsāparādhās*,

Chauroddharāṇas (different kinds of rural levies); freedom from all troubles or exactions (*parihrita—sarvva—pīḍāh*); freedom from the molestation of *Chāṭas* and *bhāṭas* (*a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravesā*); exemption from all taxes due to the King's family or court, with nothing of these in arrears to be paid; under the ordinance (*nyāya*) known as *Bhūmichchhidra*.

We may now note the other inscriptions connected with Nālandā.

Gopāla: The Vāgīśvari Stone Image Inscription belongs to the reign of 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Śrī Gopāla.'

Inscriptions of Dharmapāla. A copper-plate inscription of Śrīmān Dharmapāladeva records his gift of a village in the *Vishaya* of Gaya in the *Bhukti* of Nagara to the son of Dharmadatta.

A fragmentary stone inscription found on a stupa records its construction by local craftsmen who are named and employed by the donor Vairochana, a native of Magadha, and friend of Śrīdharagupta in the reign of Dharmapāla.

Inscriptions of Devapāla. A bronze statue of standing Saṅkarshaṇa of the time of Devapāladeva.

A village as donor. A metal image inscription of King Devapāladeva refers to a gift made to Nālandā by the inhabitants of Purika village in Rajagṛiha *vishaya*.

A 'Bahusruta'. The inscription on an image of Tārā in stone found at Hilsa in Patna district of the year 35 of Devapāladeva refers to a great teacher of Nālandā *Mahāvihāra*, who bore the name Śrī Mañjuśrī-deva and the title *Bahusruta*, 'proficient in many religious systems'.

Nālandā as a Mahāpātala. Nalanda as an administrative unit is called *Mahāpātala* in the *Vishaya* of Rajagṛiha in a votive inscription of the reign of Devapāladeva.

Mahendrapāla. A Buddha Image Inscription of the 4th year of the reign of Pratihāra King of Kanauj, Mahendrapāla, from Bihar Sharif states that the image was the gift of the Saindhavas and set up by Kumārabhadra.

A stone stupa inscription records the construction of a Chaitya in the reign of Mahendrapāla (896—908 A. D.) by the son of Kāyastha Panthāka.

There is also Bālāditya's stone inscription at Nālandā in the 11th year of Mahendrapāla.

Vipula-S'rī Mitra. Lastly, there is the inscription of the ascetic named Vipula-Śrī-Mitra who erected at Nālandā a monastery which was "an ornament of the world surpassing the palace of Indra." The inscription may be taken to be of the first half of the twelfth century.

Buddhist creed. Besides these historical inscriptions, there was one very popular religious inscription defining the Buddhist creed. It occurs, for instance, on a statue of seated Buddha in *bhumisparśa-mudrā* and attended by the labelled figures of Vasumitra, Maitreya-nātha, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The Buddhist creed is thus inscribed :

"*Ye dharmāhetu-prabhavā hetun teshūntathāgato hy-avadat teshāñcha yo nirodhaevam vādī Mahāśramaṇaḥ*", "the Tathāgata has duly explained the cause of those phenomena which spring from a cause. He has also explained what constitutes their cessation. So says the Great Monk Mahāśramaṇa."

Variety of seals. Many interesting facts about Nālandā are furnished by many seals and sealings unearthed by archaeological excavation, and the inscriptions they bear. These seals are of different classes according to the authority issuing them.

University and College seals. The first class of these seals may be described as academic, monastic or religious. Their inscriptions being to light the very interesting fact that there were different terms used for what may be regarded as the University, and the Colleges affiliated to it. The largest number of these academic seals were issued by the Central Monastery or University of Nālandā described as a *Mahāvihāra*. The inscriptions are of the form: "*Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihārī-yārya-bhikṣhu-Saṅghasya*." Sometimes the expression *Chaturddiś-ārya-bhikṣhu saṅgha* is used to indicate the character of the institution as a University 'drawing students from all quarters', including even foreign countries. Besides the term *Mahāvihāra*, the term *Mahāgrāhāra* was also used, as we have seen, for the central institution or the University viewed as a seat of Brahminical learning.

Names and Seals of Colleges. The subordinate institutions or colleges are called simply *vihāras*, with their governing body described as *saṅghas*. Each college had its own seal. These seals name the following colleges or *Saṅghas*, among others, viz., (1) *S'rī Nālandā, Mūlanavakammavārika-bhikshūṇām*. This inscription shows that the particular college or the *Saṅgha* of the particular school named here was affiliated to the University called *S'rī Nālandā*. (2) *S'rī Nālandā cha (or va) Krāre Vārika-bhikshūṇām*. This probably refers to the college or *Saṅgha* of the particular sect of monks called *Vārika-bhikshus*, associated with *S'rī Nālandā*. (3) *S'rī Nālandā-Mahāvihāra- [Guṇākara] Bauddha-bhikshūṇām*. This mentions the college belonging to the sect of Buddhist monks named *Guṇākara* and affiliated to the central institution called *S'rī-Nālandā-Mahāvihāra*. (4) *S'rī Nālandā chatur-bhagavadāsanavārika-bhikshūṇām*. This inscription probably points to a college belonging to another sect of monks with its special appellation, viz., *chatur-bhagavad-āsanavārika*. (5) *S'rī Nālandāyām S'rī-Bālāditya-Gandhakuḍi vārika-bhikshūṇām*. Instead of the reading *Nālandāyām*, a suggested reading is *S'rī Nālandā [chā á]* with the further suggestion that the letters *chā* and *á* stand for the expression *chaturddis-āryya-bhikshu-mahā-vihāra*, in which case the inscription may be thus rendered : " Of the Varikabhikshus residing in the *Gandhakudi (ṭi)* named after *Bālāditya* existing within the jurisdiction of the great *universal vihāra* or *University* of the revered friars of *Nālandā*." (6) *S'rī-Nālandā-chātu[rddisika-Samavāri] kabhikshu-saṅghasya*. This inscription mentions the college of the *Samavārika-bhikshus*. (7) *S'rī Nālandā-Satraka-Samavārika-bhikshūṇām*. This probably refers to the *Saṅgha* of the *Samavārika-bhikshus* placed in charge of the administration of the *Sattras* or alms houses of the University. (8) *S'rī-Devapāla-gandhakudyām (tyām)*. This inscription may be taken to refer to the famous *Vihāra* constructed by and appropriately named after King *Devapāla*. (9) *S'rī Nālandā-Mahāvihārīya [chaturddisa] vridha-bhikshūṇām*. This refers to the interesting fact that the aged and seniormost monks lived in a college of their own. (10) *S'rī-Nālandā-chīvara-Koshthi-k-āyāt-ā-rya]-bhikshu-saṅghasya*. This probably refers to the particular *Saṅgha* or college which was in charge of the department of the University dealing with the storehouse (*koshthā*) and distribution of robes (*Chīvara*) among the monks.

It will appear from the names of the above *Vihāras* or *Saṅghas* owned by the different sects or schools of Buddhist monks that the term *Saṅgha* or *Vihāra* may be aptly translated into the English term 'College' which means 'a Unit of Residence'. But in some cases, these *Vihāras* or *Saṅghas* were also units of administration in charge of the Different interests of academic and collective life at the University.

Other Universities. Some inscriptions again bear seals pointing to the existence of several *Mahāvihāras* within the University City of Nālandā. These are thus named : (1) *S'rī-Kara [jñā]-mahāvī[hā]-ra*. (2) *S'rī-Sākṛāditya-kārīta-āhāra*. This refers to the *āhāra* or *vihāra* which was the gift of King Śākṛāditya. (3) *S'rī Harivarmma-Mahāvihāra*. This refers to the great *Vihāra* attributed to King Harivarman. (4) *S'rī-Somapāla-kārīta-Dhammoyikā-vihārīya-bhikshusaṅgha-ya*, 'the *Vihāra* constructed by Sri Somapāla for the sect of Dhammoyika Monks' (5) *S'rī-Prathama-Sivapura-Mahāvihārīy-ārya-bhikshu-Saṅgha*, 'Of the reverend Community of Monks belonging to the first Monastery at Sivapura; (6) *S'rī-Nā Dharmapāla-deva-gandha-kuṭī-Vāsika-bhikshūṇām*, 'Of the Monks in residence at the *gandha kuṭī* of Dharmapāladeva at the famous Monastery at Nālandā.' This inscription shows that, apart from a *Vihāra*, a *Gandha Kuṭī* was functioning as a separate Hall and a unit of residence for Monks.

It will thus appear that Nālandā was a vast educational complex made up of several *Mahāvihāras* and *Vihāras*. It was a true centre of learning in those days by attracting to its site the various educational institutions of the country.

Royal Builders of colleges. It is also interesting to note the names of some Kings who are stated in the inscriptions to have built for the Nālandā University several of its colleges. Among these the name of King Śākṛāditya may be identified with the name of the same King mentioned by Yuan Chwang as having been the builder of a monastery at Nālandā. There is another case of agreement between the evidence of inscription and that of Yuan Chwang in its mention of King Bālāditya as the builder of a monastery named after him. The other Kings named in the inscriptions as builders of *vihāras* at Nālandā are Devapāla, the famous Pāla King, and Harivarman who may have been a Maukhari King or a King of Kāmarūpa.

Uddanāpuri University. At the site of Nālandā was also situated another famous University mentioned in the inscription as Uddanāpura Budhisatvāgama-Mahāvihāra 'the University of the sect of the Budhisatvāgamas situated at the city (*pura*) of Uddanāpura. It is thus apparent that the entire locality was known for the number of its *vihāras* so as to give to it the name Bihar from which is derived its modern name Bihar Sharif. An inscription on a brass image discovered in the town of Bihar mentions *S'rī Uddanāpura*. Close by was also discovered the inscribed Pillar of Skanda Gupta. The locality seems to have become the stronghold of the Vajrayāna School of Buddhists, and its chief town Bihar supplanted Pataliputra as the Capital of Magadha under its Pāla Kings. That is why the place was invaded by Bakhtyar Khalji who put to the sword most of its inhabitants with "shaven heads" and possessing numberless books which were burnt to ashes.

Purposes of seals. These seals were issued by the Colleges concerned as tokens of their authority, or proofs of authentication, and were attached to the missives or certificates and diplomas issued by them (as *praśamsā* or *pramāṇa-patras*) so as to distinguish their graduates from the products of inferior institutions. Nālandā training had a value of its own and was in very great request. The stamp of Nālandā training was sometimes fraudulently used or "stolen", as Yuan Chwang put it. Most of the Nālandā seals bear the figure of the Dharma-Chakra flanked by a deer recalling the Buddha's first preaching of his Dharma at the deer-forest of Sarnath. The suggestion of this symbol is that Nālandā was the centre of Buddhism which spread from it to different and distant countries through the agency of its literature and missionary scholars.

We have also seen how the statement of Yuan Chwang is generally confirmed by the inscriptions which name the various denominations or Schools of Buddhism pursuing their own studies in their own denominational colleges at Nālandā which brought them together.

Colleges for foreign scholars. The interesting Devapāla-Bālaputra-deva Inscription testifies to the interesting fact that Nālandā had also separate Colleges for its foreign students. King Bālaputra-deva established there what may be called in modern parlance the *Suvarṇa-Java-Bhūmi* College to accommodate the scholars coming to

Nālandā for their higher education from their distant countries beyond the seas.

It may be noted that there are other such instances of foreign Kings establishing Colleges for the residence of their nationals seeking higher education at its different centres in India. Students from Ceylon had their 'Sihala-Vihāra' at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Andhra country in the early centuries; while, later, in the time of Samudragupta, King Meghavarna of Ceylon established with his permission at Bodh Gaya a similar Vihāra which was seen by Yuan Chwang. I-tsing states that near Mahābodhi Temple at the same place a Vihāra was established by a South Indian King of Kuluka taken to be the Pāṇḍya country. The peoples of Tukhāra and Kāpisa had also their separate vihāras at the same place. There was a Chinese College at Mṛigaśikhāvana which was 40 yojanas distant from Nālandā, but it was in ruins when I-tsing came there. In the eleventh century, Chūdamaṇi Varman, and his son, Māravijayottuṅgavarman, established a Vihāra at the South Indian port of Negapatam for the monks coming there from the kingdom of the Śailendras. A reference to this institution is also contained in inscriptions of the reign of Kulottuṅga I. It is noteworthy that excavations at Chūdamaṇi-Vihāra have unearthed a large collection of Buddhist bronzes.

It may be surmised that these foreign establishments were resorted to not merely by Monks but also by Merchants and Ambassadors from the countries concerned. They served both as Schools and Embassies promoting friendly relations, commercial, and political, between India and her neighbours.

Seals of Secular Authorities. But the seals found at Nālandā are not merely the seal of monastic, academic or religious corporation. There were also seals issued by similar corporation.

Jānapada Seals. There were *Jānapada* seals, *i. e.*, seals which were issued by Village corporations or communities named as follows :
 (1) *Purikā-grāma-jānapadasya* ('of the village community of Purikā');
 (2) *Vārakīya-grāma-jānapadasya*; (3) *Navakā (da)-grāma-jānapadasya*;
 (4) *Śrī-Nālandā-prātiva(ba) ddha-Māluyikā-grāma-jānapadasya* ('of the Māluyikā village attached to Nālandā'); This document thus shows that this particular village Community or Corporation was administratively subordinate to the civil authority of Nālandā;

(5) *Brāhmaṇī* (or *Brāhmaśrī*) *grāma-jānapādasya*; (6) *Ghṛitāñjana-grāma jānapādasya*. The village Ghṛitāñjana may be identified with modern Ghenjana in Gaya District, where Buddhist remains are found. (7) *Kālī-grāmakīya-jānapada* (the Corporation of the village called Kālī); (8) *Śrī-Nālandā-pratibaddha-Bhūtikā-grāma-Vihāra-stha-jānapādasya*. This inscription shows that a village is under the civil jurisdiction of Nālandā as its administrative headquarters, and also that the office of its Corporation was housed in the *Vihāra* of the village. (9) *Daṇḍa-grāmīya-jānapādasya* (of the Corporation of the village Daṇḍa); (10) *Pañchamuṭikā-jānapādasya* (of the Municipality of Panchamuṭikā); (11) *Chandekaya-grāma-jānapādasya*; (12) *Alīka-prīṣṭha-grāma-jānapādasya*; (13) *Pāshukalpā-agrahārasya*. This seal was issued by an *agrahāra* situated in the village named Pāśukalpa.

Village Seals. Seals were also issued by Villages as corporate bodies. The name of the following such villages occur on them, viz., (1) *Udumbaraka-grāma* (2) *Malla-grāma* (3) *Aṃkoṭha satta-grāma* (4) *Nandana-grāma* (5) *Mukhyā-grāma* (6) *Taṭākā-grāma* (7) *Vaitāla-grāma* (8) *Kālapīnāka-grāma* (9) *Savarṇṇodakīya-grāma-mudreyam*.

Seals of Offices. Besides these *Jānapada* seals, there were also the seals of *offices* (*adhikaraṇa*) located at different administrative divisions of which the following ascending order may be traced from their inscriptions, viz., *Grāma*, *Naya*, *Vishaya*, *Maṇḍala*, and *Bhukti*. The inscription *Śrī-Ś'īlāditya-Dharmādhikaraṇa* points to the ecclesiastical office under its chief *Ś'īlāditya* as *Dharmādhikārī*.

The Seals found at Nālandā are those issued by the offices of the following Districts (*Vishayas*) named: (1) *Rājagṛīha-Vishaya* (2) *Gayā-Vishaya* (3) *Soṇ-antarāla-Vishaya*, 'the District of Soṇadoab' (4) *Ninna-Vishaya* (5) *Sāpradhāna-Vishaya* (6) *Krimilā-Vishaya*.

The Office of a *Naya* or a Sub-Division of a District (*Vishaya*) had also its own Seal, e.g. that issued by the *Naya* named *Pilipinikā*, as stated in the inscription, *Rājagṛīha-vishaye Pilipinikā-Nayasya*.

The Provinces or *Bhuktis* named in the Nālandā Seals are those of Magadha and Śrāvastī.

These Seals show that Nālandā was not merely a centre of education, but also of trade and administration which brought to it a large influx of population.

Seals of Police Offices or Stations (Sthānas-Thānās). The following Police Offices are mentioned on seals: (1) *Udūmvara-sthāne-grāma-jānapadasya*, 'Of the Village Community of the Police Thana Udūmvara ;' (2) *Jakkurakā-sthāna-Sujā-grāma-jānapadasya*, 'Of the Village Community of Sujā at the Police Station of Jakkurakā ;' (3)....*dikārī-grāma-Vasishṭha-sthānasya*, 'Of the Police Station Vasishṭha in the Village....'

Seal of a Traders' Guild. A Seal bears the inscription, *Valladihiya-hattā* (modern *hāt*=market)-*Mahājanasya*, 'Of the traders belonging to the market-town of Valladihi.'

Private Seals. Individual citizens of Nālandā had also their *private seals*, such as the seal of "Udayendra kavi," poet, Udayendra. There are also found at Nālandā seals of high officers of State like an *Amātya*.

Royal Seals. Lastly, there are also found at Nālandā seals of kings such as Vishṇu Gupta, Budha Gupta, Narasimha Gupta, Kumāra Gupta III, Vainyagupta Mahārājādhirāja (an independent king), Sarvvavarman and Avantivarman of Maukhari dynasty, Harshavardhana of Thanesar, Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa and Paśupatisimha, Devasimha and Īśānasimha of unknown lineage.

All this evidence shows that Nālandā was not merely a University town. It was at once a centre of education, of business, of civil life, and administration. The University though situated and segregated within an area of its own and, as stated by Yuan Chwang, "surrounded by a brick wall which encloses it from without," was not completely cut off from the life of the people of the neighbourhood to whom it was bound by many ties. There was no undue divorce between the academy and the world at large.

The University's Food Problem solved by its Agricultural and Dairy Farms. We shall now turn to the many non-academic problems which the University had to face and solve in dealing with its vast population. While the students and the teachers alone numbered over ten thousand, the other auxiliary, executive, and menial staffs must have numbered a few thousands. The daily problem of the University was to supply this vast population with its necessities of life, its "four requisites," viz. clothing, food, bedding

and medicine (*Life*, p. 113), besides, of course, free tuition. In the then conditions of economy prevailing in the country, an economy based on barter, the University could not make a daily purchase of the vast quantity of these necessities of life required by its resident population at a ready bazaar or market by payment of cash. The economy of the times also determined the form in which the benefactions and endowments in aid of the University were made by the Donors, kings or private philanthropists, the State or private agencies. These were inevitably in the form of grants of land or villages. There was no Legislature in those days to vote grants of money or cash in aid of educational institutions. At the time of Yuan Chwang's student-ship, one king alone, viz., Harsha, as we have seen, made a gift to the University of 100 villages (with their 'revenues remitted by him in favour of the University) [*Life*, p. 112.] In the time of I-tsing, the endowment increased to "more than 200 villages." He also states that "the sovereigns from generation to generation have given to Nālandā these lands for its perpetual upkeep along with men," i.e. labourers for the cultivation of these lands. It was thus the part of the University to make the most of these lands and villages. It had to find the means of its maintenance out of the landed properties granted to it in perpetuity. The University grew up to be one of the biggest landlords of the locality. But it was not merely a question of owning the properties. The responsibility was cast on the University to manage these properties efficiently so as to derive from them its sustenance and the means of its expansion. The responsibility of donors to the University ceased with the granting of their donations in kind instead of cash. It was for the University to see how it could utilize these gifts in kind and extract the largest revenue out of the numerous villages which it came to own in full and perpetual proprietorship. These grants of land compelled the University to maintain a Department of Agriculture which could utilize these lands to profit and undertake the efficient cultivation of its vast paddy fields and other estates distributed among its more than 200 villages.

It was well that it should be. It was well that Agriculture in ancient India by its system of educational finance came to be

the concern of its Colleges and Universities, instead of being consigned to the care of an ignorant, indigent, and illiterate peasantry. It was well that the University was made to depend upon the profitable working of its agricultural farms, gardens, and orchards for its maintenance. The University thus became a centre of practical training in the arts and crafts, instead of being exclusively a centre of metaphysical and religious studies concerning the things of the spirit.

Some idea of the magnitude of the food problem of the University may be gathered from the observations of its Chinese students who knew it at first hand. As stated by Yuan Chwang, the University's daily supply of food amounted to "several hundred piculs of ordinary rice and several hundred *cotties* in weight of butter and milk." One *picul* is taken to be equivalent to 133 lbs.=66½ srs.=say, roughly, 1½ md. One *cotty*=150 lbs=75 srs]=roughly, 2 mds. If the daily requirements of the University, as indicated by Yuan Chwang, are computed at 400 mds. of rice, it will feed a population of 16,000 by taking the rationing of rice per head at the standard rate of one seer per day per head. The number of 16,000 for the University may be taken to be a fair estimate, if the number of over 10,000 for the teachers and the taught, as computed by Yuan Chwang, is taken in conjunction with the number of the staff employed by the University for its manifold executive, administrative, and menial services. To the daily quantity of rice consumed by the University's residential population must be added "the several hundred maunds of milk and butter" which rightly formed an important part of their food for its nutritive value.

The provision given to the Monks of food, accommodation, and other amenities and services, naturally varied with their rank and standing. For instance, Yuan Chwang was daily supplied with 102 Jambiras (a fruit), 20 areca nuts (fried areca nuts,) 20 nutmegs, one ounce of camphor, and supply of butter, together with 1 *peck* of the finest rice called *Mahāsālī* which grew only in Magadha and nowhere else, and was "as large as a black bean and became aromatic and shining when cooked," while every month he was presented with 3 measures of oil. As regards the services and other amenities, he was provided with menial servants, 2 attendants, one a *Māṇavaka*, and another a

Brahmachārī, and also with an elephant as his vehicle [*Life*, pp. 109-10]. According to I-tsing (p. 105), the menial staff of the Monastery included "porters."

The daily and regular supply of this vast quantity of rice, milk, and butter came directly from the University's own paddy fields and dairy-farms out in its villages. The University had thus to see to the profitable cultivation of its fields so as to get out of them the largest harvest of agricultural crops, while it had also to organize efficiently its dairy-farming so as to ensure its required daily supply of the other necessary foods like milk and butter. Thus the University had to establish on scientific lines institutions to give practical training in these two national key-industries of India, agriculture and dairy-farming. The University had also its Farm-houses and Granaries to receive and store up the produce of its fields. The Farm-house was situated outside its precincts. Yuan Chwang halted at the Farm-house for "short refreshment" on his way to the University.

Ārāṃikas. Glimpses of the method by which the *Saṅgha* undertook the cultivation of its lands are given in some of the canonical Buddhist texts. It seems that every *Vihāra* was equipped with a special Staff of Agriculturists who were called *Ārāṃikas*, the Superintendents in charge of the *Ārāmas* or grounds belonging to the *Vihāra*. We are told how Emperor Bimbisāra of Magadha (of about sixth century B. C.) placed at the disposal of the venerable monk, Pīlinda-vachchha, 500 such *Ārāṃikas* who were settled in a separate colony of their own, called *Ārāṃika-grāma*. The University of Nālandā possessing so many villages and such extensive lands for cultivation must have had quite a large number of such agricultural colonies.

System of Cultivation. The Pali texts also throw light upon the methods of cultivation pursued in those days by the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. According to the *Mahāvagga* (VI, 39), the *Saṅgha* would ordinarily arrange to have the cultivation of its lands undertaken by the professional peasants on the basis of sharing of the produce. But sometimes the *Saṅgha* would prefer to stock the seeds which might be sown on lands owned by private persons on the same terms of a division of the produce between the two parties.

Seedlings were generally divided in equal shares between the owner of the seeds and of the land on which the seeds were sown.

I-tsing from his direct experience of what he saw at Nālandā throws further light on the system by which the *Saṅgha* arranged for the cultivation of its fields. He states: "According to the teaching of the *Vinaya*, when a cornfield is cultivated by the *Saṅgha*, a share in the product is to be given to the monastic servants or some other families by whom the actual tilling has been done. Every product should be divided into 6 parts, and $\frac{1}{6}$ should be levied by the *Saṅgha*; the *Saṅgha* has to provide the bulls as well as the land for cultivation. Sometimes, the division of the produce should be modified according to the seasons."

"Most of the Monasteries follow the above custom, but there are some who are very avaricious and do not divide the produce, but the priests themselves give out the work to servants, male and female, and see that the farming is properly done."

This statement shows that the *Saṅgha* undertook the cultivation of its fields directly by its own machinery and men or had it done by private agencies, the peasant families of the neighbourhood. In the latter case, the *Saṅgha* had to provide the actual tiller of the soil with the bullocks required for cultivation. The *Saṅgha* would thus employ the landless agricultural labourer who had to pay as the rent for the use of its land a share of the produce amounting to $\frac{1}{6}$. This may be considered as a fairly reasonable rate of rent, considering that the present rents of agricultural lands in many provinces amount to as much as $\frac{1}{4}$ or even $\frac{1}{3}$ of the produce. In the case of a bumper harvest, it might be differently divided between the tiller of the soil and its owner. It may be noted in this connection that, in addition to the owner's share of a sixth of the produce of the land which he did not own, the cultivator had also to pay another sixth of the produce to the State as an additional agricultural levy.

I-tsing also refers to Monasteries getting their lands cultivated directly by their own staff of servants, male or female. In such cases, they would gain more profit, as they would not have to part with any portion of the produce, the expenses of cultivation being limited only to the payment of wages to their paid servants or hired labour. This system was resorted to not for the sake of profiteering but only to

ensure, as I-tsing points out, "that the farming is properly done" under expert supervision. He also states that "the Monks have charge of guarding the granaries" where were stored the harvests that were reaped besides "supervision of the lands" under cultivation. They were assisted by "servants in the administration of the Granaries." Agriculture cannot prosper unless it is undertaken by those who command necessary knowledge and resources for it. The system of grants of land to temples, *Mathas*, and *Vihāras* made Agriculture in Ancient India the concern of its upper and cultivated classes who could look after it better than the resourceless peasantry.

Another point in the agricultural arrangements of Nālandā is brought out by Yuan Chwang. He says that the University entered into an arrangement with each one of its hundred villages, that two of its "householders" or headmen should enter into a contract with the University for supplying it daily with the quota of rice fixed for each village. Thus if the daily total quota of rice required by the University was 400 maunds, as estimated by Yuan Chwang and stated above, and if this quantity was to come from its 100 villages, the daily quota of rice to come from each village should be 4 maunds for which the two headmen of the village were made responsible.

The same arrangement, according to Yuan Chwang, applied in the case of the numerous dairy farms set up by the University in all its villages from which came hundreds of maunds of milk and butter it required every day, as stated above.

Thus the University had its own Agricultural Department to take charge of the proper cultivation of its fields, the administration of its Granaries and management of its Dairy-farms, by means of hired agricultural labour or under a system of contract by which its paddy fields and dairies were leased out to the headmen of the villages in which they were located on the basis of a stipulated sharing of the produce with the lessees or farmers. Its Agricultural Department had also to take care of its cattle. As we have seen, it had to supply the poor peasant it engaged for cultivation for a share of the produce with the bullocks that he required for ploughing up the land.

Restrictions as to Property. It may be noted in this connection that orthodox Buddhism does not ordinarily permit an individual Buddhist monk to own any property including land for cultivation

He had to live up to his name as a *Bhikṣu* or a beggar. Nor was the brotherhood of monks permitted to accept or seek for gold or gifts in cash. It was, however, permitted to accept gifts in kind (*Mahāvagga*, VI.34, 21). Among such gifts in kind are included *Ārāma* or arable land and *Vihāra* made up of buildings (*Chullavagga*, VI.15, 2). But the individual monk as such was not permitted either the possession of land or its cultivation which was far more objectionable. The religious injunction of the *Patimokkha* is that "a monk who digs the earth or causes it to be dug is liable to punishment." These prohibitions which were applied to the individual monk were waived in the case of their brotherhood or the *Saṅgha* as a whole. That is why the *Saṅgha* could accept and possess lands, cattle, buildings, and such other immovable properties, and also engage in agricultural operations and dairy-farming.

The Executive and Building Staff of a Vihāra. Besides Agriculture, Dairy-farming, and Cattle-rearing, another important practical aspect of education in Nālandā concerned its building activities. It had to maintain a Staff of Architects and Engineers to see to its town-planning and construction, and maintenance of its many buildings.

The Buddhist canonical works mention the following officers as making up the Administrative and Executive Staff of the *Vihāra* as distinguished from its Academic and Tutorial Staff:

(1) The Apportioner or Distributor of lodging-places among the monks. He has first to count the number of *Bhikṣus* to be lodged, the number of sleeping-places available, and then to apportion them accordingly (*Chullavagga*, VI.11, 3); (2) The Apportioner of Rations; (3) The Overseer of Stores; (4) Receiver of Robes; (5) Distributor of Robes, Convey or Fruits; (6) Distributor of dry foods; (7) Disposer of trifles (such as needles, pairs of scissors, sandals and braces, girdles, filtering cloth, regulation strainer, etc.); (8) Receiver of under-garments; (9) Receiver of bowls; (10) *Ārāṃikas* or those who kept the grounds of the *Ārāmas* in order; (11) Superintendents of *Ārāṃikas* to look after their work and (12) Superintendents of *S'rāmaṇeras* to keep them to their duties (*ib.*, VI.21).

I-tsing mentions the following executive officers of the University, viz., (1) the *Vihārapāla* whose duty was "to enforce the rules, guard the doors of the University, and announce its affairs to the Assembly

of the Monks." He may be compared to the Registrar of a modern University. (2) The *Vihārasvāmī* corresponding to the Master of a College; (3) the Officer in charge of the bolts of the door which he seals with his own seal. These seals are to be returned to the Chancellor and not to be deposited in the houses of the *Vihārasvāmīs*. He was thus the keeper and custodian of the University's effects and records. (4) The *Karmadāna* who "sounds the bell (*ghaṇṭā*) and supervises the repasts."

These offices show that the monks had to undertake various kinds of practical, secular work, apart from their religious and spiritual preoccupations. The Monasteries opened up ample opportunities for business training or education in the arts and crafts. We are told of Bhikshus being deputed to serve as "building overseers" to take charge of building operation, on behalf of a lay-donor constructing a *Vihāra* for purposes of the *Saṅgha* (*Ib.*, VI. 17), so that the buildings might be in accordance with "the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments." Such an Overseer was called *Navakammika*. The appointment was made by a formal Resolution of the Order (*Ib.* VI.5, 3). Bhikshus had to superintend not merely new constructions but also repair works (*Ib.*, VI.5, 2). Sometimes, what with superintending new works, or repairs to old ones, the Bhikshus managed to divide such work among themselves for terms of 20 or 30 years and even for life. This kind of prolonged pre-occupation with practical work did not give scope to the religious life of the monks concerned, and, accordingly, a Rule was passed by the *Saṅgha* to the effect that the term for the office of the *Navakammika* was to be a limited one, varying with the character of the construction concerned and was not to be a continuous period. Thus, "with reference to the work on a small *Vihāra*, it may be given in charge of a *Navakamma* for a period of 5 or 6 years, that on an *Aḍḍhayoga* (a house shaped like a Garuḍa bird with its roof bent on one side) for a period of 7 or 8 years, that on a large *Vihāra* or *Prāsāda* for 10 or 12 years" (*Ib.*, VI, 17).

Instruction in Crafts. Along with the supervision of building operations, the religious education of every Bhikshu centred round a craft. It was felt by the monastic authorities that the Bhikshus "were ill at ease without the practice of some handicraft" Every monk had thus to toil, spin and to weave. He was allowed "the use of a loom,

and of shuttles, strings, tickets and all the apparatus belonging to a loom". The monks had to prepare their own robes and keep them in fit condition with the help of all necessary weaving appliances (*Chullavagga*, V, II ; V 28). The practice of spinning yarn and weaving cloth was obligatory on every monk as a part of his religious training based on training in self-help so that he may manufacture his own clothing instead of depending upon the work of others.

Other practical subjects of education in those days are indicated in the Course for Secondary Education which every student had to complete before proceeding to specialisation. As stated by I-tsing, the Course comprised the following five compulsory and standardised subjects called *Vidyās* : (1) *Sabdavidyā* or *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar and lexicography), (2) *S'ilpasthānavidyā* (knowledge of Arts and Craft through manual training), (3) *Chikitsāvidyā* (Science of Medicine), (4) *Hetuvidyā* (Logic), and (5) *Adhyātmavidyā* (Science of the Universal soul, philosophy).

In this List, Subject No.2 implies instruction in the *S'ilpas*, the arts and crafts of the times, imparted through manual training in-appropriate workshops. It is interesting to note that *Chikitsāvidyā* or Medical Education was made compulsory for all students at Nālandā. Even a student like I-tsing who came all the way from China to India for advanced study of Buddhism had first to go through the entire course of Secondary Education and to study Medical Science as a part of that compulsory Course. He himself also states that he made "a successful study in Medical Science", of which the Course was not quite elementary in those days, from the details he gives of it. I-tsing also explains the reason for this regulation making medical study compulsory for all students, not excluding even the Monks : Is it not a sad thing," he asks, "that sickness prevents the pursuit of one's duty and vocation ? Is it not beneficial if people can benefit others as well as themselves by the study of Medicine ?" Thus the inclusion of medical study as a compulsory part of education was a humanitarian measure, and dictated by the highest ideals of social service as an end of education.

Thus Nālandā was not a centre of purely religious and philosophical studies, or of education in the humanities. It was also a centre of practical training in some of the industries and crafts. It was famous as a School of Art, of Craftsmanship, and of Metallurgy. We

have already seen how the inscription of Yaśovarmadeva of 8th century A. D. describes the teachers of Nālandā as being proficient in the various *Āgama* or *Sāstras* and *Kalās*, the fine Arts, and Crafts, of which the old Indian texts describe as many as 64 making up their traditional number.

The Nālandā School of Art : its religious basis. The School of Art at Nālandā was famous for the images and sculptures it produced in stone and mostly in metal or bronze. It was inspired by the religious rituals and practices prevailing at Nālandā. These were connected with Mahāyāna Buddhism and its later developments known as Tantrayāna, Vajrayāna and Kālachakrayāna. Their beginnings were noticed by both Yuan Chwang and I-tsing. Yuan Chwang, for instance, mentions the worship at Nālandā of the deities Tārā [Watters, II. 103, 174], Buddha and Bodhisattva. I-tsing refers only to the images of Buddha and Hārītī [Takakusu, p. 37]. The later religious developments brought in new deities and their images for worship. The stages in this religious history are marked by their appropriate examples.

Variety of Images. First, there are the images of the Buddha in both stone and bronze. Secondly, there are images of Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and other Bodhisattvas. Next, we have images of female deities, Hārītī, Tārā, Prajñāpāramitā, and Vasudharā. Later Mahāyāna is represented by the image of Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi.

Tāntrika Images. Tantrayāna brings in figures of new deities : Trailokyavijaya, who is shown as trampling over Maheśvara and Gaurī ; Heruka, with his garland of skulls and dancing on a lotus ; Jambhālā, the Buddhist god of wealth ; Mārīchī (the Buddhist goddess of dawn) with three faces and eight arms, and companions called Varttālā, Vadale, Varīdlī, and Varāhamukhī.

There are also found other Tāntrika images, those of Yamantaka, Vajrasattva, Aparājita, Mañjuvara, and Vajrapāṇi. Of these, Vajrapāṇi is a Divine Bodhisattva who carries in his tiara the image of his spiritual father, Akshobhya. Mañjuvara is a manifestation of the popular Mañjuśrī. Yamantaka is a regular Kālachakrayāna deity with its three faces, protruding tongue, canine teeth, big belly, garland of severed human heads, and riding on a buffalo. Aparājita is represented as trampling upon Gaṇeśa and being served by Indra and Brahmā. There is also another female figure found, identified as that of Koṭīśrī, but it may be that of Vajraśarada, seated on lotus.

Brahmanical Images. Lastly, Brahmanical religion is represented by the figures of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Balarāma, Vāsudeva, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Pārvatī, Durgā on lion or *Mahisha Mardini*, Gaṅgā, and Sarasvatī.

About these stone images of Nālandā, I-tsing remarks : " There are marvellous sculptured images the beauty of which touches the limit in the art of ornamentation. " The image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara found in a chamber on the side of Chaitya No. 12 is considered as a master-piece of art.

Bronzes of Nālandā. The number of the larger statues in stone discovered at Nālandā is strikingly small. The school of Art at Nālandā seems to have specialised in producing smaller pieces giving scope to work in detail and finish of execution, images in bronze. This particular art depended for its success upon metallurgical processes and metal-casting. Evidence of metal-casting is found in the series of ovens marking the courtyards of some of the monasteries. The best of the Nālandā bronzes belong to the time of the two Pāla Kings, Dharmapāla, and Devapāla, A. D. 780-892. The artistic activity of this period was due to two great artists named, Dhīmān and his son Bitpalo. According to Tāranātha, they were natives of Varendra. They both "produced many works in cast-metal as well as sculptures and paintings. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools."

A fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Dharmapāladeva and inscribed on a sculptured stūpa lays stress on the fact that the monument was the work of the craftsmen of Nālandā (*atratyāḥ śilpibhiḥ*) and also mentions their names as Kese, Savvo, Vokkaka and Vijjata. There is no doubt that Nālandā, besides its School of Art and Design, had also a School of Crafts served by its accessory workshops as indicated in this inscription.

Art of Nālandā influencing that of Java. The Art of Nālandā School extended far beyond the bounds of the University. The extent of its influence has been the special study of competent scholars who believed that it extended beyond the boundaries of India and influenced considerably the art of a distant country like Java whose culture is mainly based upon Mahāyāna Buddhism of which Nālandā was then the most important centre and stronghold. The close connection between Nālandā and Java has been attested by the epigraphic evidence already cited.

A FEW LETTERS OF QUTB SHAH AND MIR JUMLA RELATING TO KARNATAK AFFAIRS

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In an article submitted to the Eighteenth (Mysore) session of the Indian Historical Records Commission (January, 1942) an attempt was made by me to evaluate the historical importance of Nazirul Mamalik Haji 'Abdul' Ali Tabrezi's Golkonda Letters¹ and to study and interpret some letters of Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla, relating to the partition of the Karnatak², selected therefrom. In this paper I have culled some other letters of Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla, from the same source, as they are either of corroborative value or throw new light on the latter's conquests in the Karnatak.

A.—QUTB SHAH'S LETTERS

1. "By Order" to the Captain of Pulicat³ (35b-36a).

The Captain, who has been exalted by and proud of, the numerous kindnesses of the Sultan, should know that as the Sultan is determined to improve the condition of the masses and organise the various classes of people and the special groups⁴, which are endowed with the farsightedness of (offering) obedience, submission, and service, so, in this time of victory, when the banner of Islam has been raised, that chosen and fortunate servant⁵, [being specially honoured for capturing with divine help] the qasba and the fort and port of Pulicat and the country and territories, adjacent to the above-mentioned port, now added to the Sultan's Kingdom, has received a royal *farman* to the effect that the pact and agreement⁶, which Jumlatulmulki (*i. e.*, Mir Jumla) had entered into, with that Captain (Umdatula

¹ Br. Museum Persian Ms. Addl. 6600. For a brief description of contents see Rieu I, 398-99. I have utilised Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript.

² Proceedings, I. H. R. C. (Mysore Session, 1942).

³ The Dutch settlement of Pulicat was overrun by the Qutb Shahi forces under Mir Jumla in 1647, who made an agreement with the Dutch Co., which is here approved by the Sultan.

⁴ Evidently referring to the European Companies.

⁵ The carefully chosen epithets to describe the qualities of Mir Jumla should be contrasted with the contemptuous terms when he rebelled.

⁶ See f. n. 3.

shiya) having been sanctioned by the Sultan, should not in any way violated

The Captain should know that giving satisfaction and pleasure to Mir Jumla would be tantamount to keeping the Sultan pleased¹. He should not spare himself in allowing concessions to the inhabitants and he should not also transgress their religion². He should regard the pact signed with Mir Jumla (who is adept in making speech and promises), as being inviolable, and should have peace of mind in every respect.

And for the defence of the fort and maintenance of the welfare of the villages and for the care and protection of the subjects and religion, he should strive his utmost. He should not be hoodwinked by the people³ of those directions, whose real intentions are the creation of mischief and disturbances.

And he should count upon the royal attention and help and should proceed in such a way that it may result in the increase of population and their well-being as also the prosperity of the port.

2. *Qutb Shah to 'Abdus Samad (20a-b);*

Received your letter, and learnt of Adil Shah's false accusations before Shah Jahan regarding demand of *peshkash* against me. Had there been anything else besides the agreements made in succession, about every matter, between myself and Adil Shah, copies of which are with you, you must have been aware of it. The Emperor knows all and may punish Adil Shah for violation of agreement. The truth is that Adil Shah already knew that without my help, the war with the Rayal cannot be finally won, and so he agreed with me to partition the Karnatak into $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ and thus he made me a co-partner in the destruction of the Rayal and other zamindars. At present the Rayal and other zamindars have always been defeated, and in return, Adil Shah wanted to take his stipulated share of $\frac{2}{3}$ immediately, but deferred giving my share of $\frac{1}{2}$. Adil Shah did not know that I have appealed to the Emperor for deciding this dispute.

3. *From same to same (21a-b).*

Adil Shah appealed to the Emperor for ordering me to give him something. It was agreed between us that of spoils of war, goods,

¹ This indicates the degree of influence and authority wielded by Mir Jumla and explains why all European Companies were so eager to keep him appeased.

² A warning to missionary activities and conversion to Christianity.

³ Evidently referring to the Hindus of the Karnatak.

territory, jewels and cash, Adil Shah was to get two parts and myself one part. However, of territories conquered by me, Adil Shah has taken immediate possession of his 2 parts, and in Adilshahi conquests, I have not got any share, either of territory or goods. If he pays, I will pay also.

4. *Qutb Shah to Fasihuddin Muhammad*¹ (25a-25b).

Jinji and Tanjore have been under our protection and the division of their territories in the proportion $\frac{1}{3} : \frac{2}{3}$ as agreed in the *ahadnama*, might be enforced. There is no doubt that Adil Shah, true to his nature, would not obey Empeor's orders and would make false accusations to him that the territory of these two zamindars is greater than the division into $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$. In that case you are to appeal to the Emperor for appointment of two amins, one on behalf of Bijapur, and the other on my behalf, or pray to His Majesty to write to Mir Muhammad Tahir,² for settlement of the matter after due enquiries. The Emperor would then decide. At present Mustafa Khan, along with his cavalry (16-17,000) and infantry (20-30,000), is now come for a fight with Mir Jumla at a distance of 3 or 4 *cos* (6-8 miles) from Jinji. He applied for help; and it is expected that Ikhlas Khan, already sent along with 8000 cavalry, would soon come and join him. As I do not do anything without the Emperor's orders, I have asked Mir Jumla to defer an engagement with Mustafa. You are to secure an order of the Emperor and send it quickly along with an *amin*. Adil Shah is trying to extricate the two zamindars of Jinji and Tanjore from my hands³. I have made many representations before Mir Muhammd Tahir, who must have put them before the Emperor and I am anxious to know why the imperial order is not yet coming.

¹ Fasihuddin Muhammad was QutbShah's agent at Delhi.

² Mir Muhammad Tahir was Aurangzeb's envoy at Golkunda.

³ Here it means that Bijapur is depriving Golkonda of its due share of partition. In one of his letters (to a Bijapur grandee), Mir Jumla claims to have occupied Tandivanam in the country of Tanjore, together with Asiyur (Aliyur) and retained them for a long time. Then after the agreement with Bijapur, Jinji fell in Bijapur's share, and then, after much discussion, Mir Jumla gave them up. (Tabrezi 151b-153a, *Basatin us Salatin*, 326).

5 *Qutb Shah to Haji Nasira, his envoy at Bijapur (25b-27a).*

I have, somedays ago, written to you about the nefarious activities of Jauhar¹ of Kurnool for lodging information with Adil Shah. No reply as yet. His disturbances are daily increasing and he is continuing them. Sometime ago Adil Shah had sent him a letter advising him to desist from creating this mischief, but he did not pay any heed to it. In reply Jauhar petitioned that the muqaddam of his village had fled away and taken shelter with the son of Venkat, and that was why he had sent an army to that direction. The aforesaid muqaddam was an old subject of ours. Jauhar is offering all sorts of false explanations and continuing his activities. I have deputed some wazirs and soldiers to that direction, but as Jauhar's soldiers are connected with Adil Shah, and as no leave for war has yet been received from him, they are waiting. The matter is not so trivial as it appears to be. The powerful enemies, who are awaiting such events, would naturally regard this as a sign of enmity between us and would be strengthened in their hostile designs on us. Please explain these matters to the Sultan, so that, considering this to be an urgent matter, he might send through an officer, a *farman* warning Jauhar, first by advice, then by threat or by any other means. In these days when enemies, far and near, are awaiting an opportunity, we must act together and stand firm, and display of any sign of enmity would be highly impolitic. It is highly becoming of Adil Shah, whose mind is like a mirror reflecting all things, to warn him off. Gopal, the mischief-monger, should be duly chastised.

6. *To Haji Nasira, envoy at Bijapur (27a):*

Learnt that our letters to Adil Shah have been presented to him. Khan Muhammed has said that there has been some change in the friendship between us (two sultans). But I do not think so. If I write to him of the events that are reported to me, I fear I may be misunderstood. If I do not write, I fear some important things may be omitted. I am between the horns of a dilemma. You must inform him of what you hear after due consideration, so that you need not be ashamed in future.

¹ When Malik Raihan Wahab (son of Malik Raihan I, an officer of Adil Shah), died, his slave, Siddi Jauhar, imprisoned his master's son Malik Raihan II and occupied Karnul. Ali Adil Shah II created him Salabat Khan and sent him against Shivaji. He died in 1662. (B. S. 524: Sarkar, *House of Shivaji* 66-67; *Shivaji* Ch. 4).

7. "By Order" (of Qutb Shah) to Haji Nasira, envoy at Bijapur (28a-b).

Present this letter to Adil Shah and Bari Sahiba¹.

I instructed Raza Ali Beg to induce Tatal Krishna to come to terms and not to fight. But the latter would not agree to make peace. Outwardly he professed peace, but secretly he is preparing for war. One night when Raza Ali was engaged in negotiations with Tatal Krishna, the Hindu leader made preliminary preparations for war and suddenly surprised him with a large cavalry and infantry and the skirmish continued till 1 *prahara* of the day. The Padshahi troops were victorious, through the attention of the Imams and Adil Shah's grace. Many Hindus were killed, some fled and some were wounded. As Tatal Krishna was making good his escape, he fell into a ditch and was captured by one soldier. Such a victory is to be attributed to the friendship between the two Sultans. It is highly desirable that Golkunda and Bijapur should co-operate in attacking the Karnatak from both sides and bringing it under control, by rooting out the tree of the infidels.

I am sorry at the illness² of Adil Shah. You should present 500 *huns* to him.

8. *From the same to same* (2 letters: 30a-31b):

I am highly pleased at the news that Afzal Khan has been sent to the Karnatak—which is an important task. It will put the enemies to shame.

Siddi Jauhar (of Kurnool) is trying to extend his hands towards Gandikota and Guti, and is occupying neighbouring territories. This is against the friendship of Bijapur and Golkunda, and so you should request the Sultan and Bari Sahiba to intervene so that Siddi Jauhar be forbidden to do such things, and tell her of my great eagerness to conquer the Karnatak and my expectation of receiving the co-operation of the Sultan of Bijapur. Inform me of the result of this mediation of Bari Sahiba.

9. *Qutb Shah to Khan Muhammad* (36a-37a):

The connection between Bijapur and Golkunda is very close and this friendship should be fostered. I am now engaged in

¹ She was the sister of Abdullah Qutb Shah, and married to Muhammad Adil Shah. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I, 234; *Qutbnuma* (Sarkar Ms.).

² About 1652? (See Fort St. George letter, 12 Feb., 1652; F. E. F. 1651-54, p. 111) or 1656? (Hindu revolt).

quelling some disturbances and troubles in this side and if an army is sent by Bijapur to the Karnatak, this would prevent others¹ from occupying it and thereby check potential dangers to both of us in future arising from a hostile occupation, which would be difficult of control. I have already informed Haji Nasira of the necessity of the conquest of the Karnatak.

10. *Qutb Shah to Fazilat Khan, Wazir of Bijapur (37a):*

The news of the despatch of Afzal Khan to the Karnatak is a source of great pleasure to me. I hope that it would come to our hands in no time. In that case we would pay 1 lakh *huns* to Afzal Khan as *tankhwah*.

11. *From a well-wisher to a Qutbshahi noble (156a-157a):*

I am endeavouring to maintain good relations between the two Sultans, as is known to all, particularly yourself. What favours Adil Shah has done to strengthen the kingdom of Qutb Shah are known to all; but there has been no reciprocity from the latter. The agreement also has not been fulfilled. This is harmful to the interests of continuing the friendship. Adil Shah wants to go to Hasanabad², very near Haidarabad. You should therefore not miss this chance, and stopping the siege of Guti fort, which is a cause of rupture of friendship, you should meet him and try to remove his ill-feeling. I have tried my best to remove it.

Verse: I have finished my say.

It is for you to accept it as advice

Or be displeased

12. *Qutb Shah to Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla, Sar-i-lashkar of Karnatak, when the mutawalliship³ of several villages in it was given to him and his family (42a-43a):*

The territories of Hindu Karnatak⁴ have come under my possession with villages and forts and the banner of Islam has been unfurled

¹ Probably meaning the Mughals.

² There is a Hasanabad, a village in Aurangabad Dt. Haidarabad, on the Girja. (Constable's *Hand Gazetteer of India*, 1898, p. 139). But this does not seem to be intended here. Probably this refers to Hoosanabad, about 50 miles south west of Haidarabad city (17°4' N. 77°40' E.) (*An Atlas of Southern India*, Pharaoh and Co., Madras, Sheet 31).

³ The post of administrator or procurator of any religious or charitable foundation.

⁴ Evidently an exaggeration.

there, and the shrines of idols and places of pilgrimage have been converted into mosques and places of worship of Muslims, and the practices of Islamic religion have been widely diffused¹. Three villages (not named) of the conquered territories, which are under a town (not named) are given, according to the rules of the shariat, for the inhabitants of Najf². As these territories were conquered through your energy and efforts, the *mutawalliship* of these villages is now conferred on you and your family for an indefinite period. The total income of these places should be sent to Najf. My successors are hereby forbidden to interfere in this arrangement.

13. *Qutb Shah to Haji Muhammad Shafi, envoy of Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla* (33b-34b) :

The envoy, who had been in Iran, is ordered to make arrangements for the legacy of the King's aunt and for her maidservants and slaves.

Physicians for Golkunda Court are to be recruited in Persia. My surgeon, Dr. Karima, is now old and wants to go home. So a famous physician, equal to or more qualified than Karima, who might be available in the Iranian Court, should be sent in the next season, none being available here³.

14 *Qutb Shah to Aurangzeb* (12a) :

You have given an indication (hint) regarding the imprisonment⁴ of the son of Muhammad Said. For this gift, I am unable to offer thanks and so pray to God for your welfare.

¹ This letter indicates some of the results of Mir Jumla's conquest of the Karnatak (C. 1652-3). The passage relating to introduction of Islam may be compared with that in *Basatin i Salatin* (litho. ed. 328-'29) describing the effects of the Bijapuri conquest of Jinji.

² The place where the tomb of Ali is situated.

³ This letter, evidently written before the rebellion of Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla, shows that the latter had his agent in Persia, who was concerned with his commercial and general affairs. It also shews that Qutb Shah depended on Persia not only for his ministers and officers but even for physicians; this is a clear indication of the extent of the peaceful penetration of Persia into the Kingdom of Golkunda. Dr. Karima, we learn from *Fathhiyya Ibrhiyya*, treated Mir Jumla during his last illness.

⁴ 21st November, 1655 Sarkar, *Aurangzib* I. 202. The abject submission of Qutb Shah is remarkable.

15. (*By order*) to Fathullah Beg, havaladar of port Masulipatam (35a):

Mir Ahmad, a hajib of Aurangzeb's Court, has sent a wakil to confiscate¹ all the the cash, materials and goods of Mir Muhammad Said stored there. Fathullah Beg is to know that an inventory of all his goods should be prepared and that it should be sent to Aurangzeb's Court and that Mir Tahir should be sent there with the wakil.

16. *Qutb Shah to Shah Jahan* (2b) :

The Karnatak², captured after great expenditure, was in my possession. The fort of Ramgir³, an ancestral inheritance, which has been lost as a result of oppression, might be restored. In future I would do as best as possible to serve you.

17. *Qutb Shah's three requests to Shah Jahan* (4a) :

(i) The Karnatak, which had been occupied by me after an expenditure of lakhs and crores and where disturbances were still continuing, might be restored.

(ii) The fort of Ramgir, a part of the ancestral dominions of Qutb Shah, which had been seized with great oppression, might be restored.

(iii) Peshkash⁴ (not reproduced).

¹ The circumstances leading to Aurangzeb's imprisonment (January 1658) of Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla and the confiscation of his property have been described in Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I and II 332-3). Here we get new details about the confiscation. Mir Jumla was himself havaladar of Masulipatam (Hadiqat us Salatin, II; and FEF) and it was the centre of his commercial activities. After his death his son, Muhammad Amin, ruled Masulipatam though a deputy known as Tap Tapa (Bernier. 195). It was natural for Mir Jumla to have his cash and goods stored in Masulipatam for safe custody and for reasons of trade. It is, however, not clear when Fathullah Beg assumed charge as havaladar of Masulipatam. From a letter of Mir Jumla (Tabrezi, 153b), we come to know that the office of the havaladar of the port was held by Mir Lutfullah, but the time is uncertain.

² After the conclusion of peace (April, 1656) Qutb Shah wanted to retain the Karnatak as a matter of right and of justice and appealed, against Aurangzeb's cupidity, to Dara. Sarkar (*Aurangzeb* I, 220-21). Here we find him appealing to the Emperor, who, however, was won over by Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla (*ibid*). The Karnatak was given as a personal jagir by Shah Jahan to Mir Jumla and free of tribute for 7 years (F. Records). See my article entitled Mir Jumla and the English (1655-58'; J. B. O. R. S. (Dec. 1940); Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I, 220.

³ Qutb Shah had to cede Ramgir, modern Manikdurg and Chinoor, to the Mughals in 1656. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I, 215-6, 220; Guldasta for *ahudnama*. Evidently these 2 letters were written after April 1656.

⁴ See Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I, Guldasta.

18. *Qutb Shah to Mir Fasihuddin, envoy*¹ (144a-145a):

You know that the orders and the prohibitions of the Emperor are duly observed by us even to the minutest detail. The Emperor has ordered the despatch of an army to the Karnatak. It is known by all that when the imperial army came to Burhanpur, powerful men of surrounding parts, especially Jauhar of Kurnool, created disturbances, and they conquered the greater part of the *mahals* and *parganas* of Gandikota. Considering this to be insufficient, they even sent an army to besiege Guti (گتی). As it would be difficult to root out the disturbances, if unchecked now, and as they might spread to previously occupied territories of the Mughals, I have repeatedly informed the imperial officers (of these events). According to Aurangzeb's suggestions, I sent several soldiers to protect that country. When our dominions are connected with the imperial territories, how could I agree to allow the Karnatak to fall to the Hindu rebels.

The Emperor has threatened us by sending Mir Jumla against us; but we hope to be protected from this threat by our fear of the Emperor and our expectations of favours from him. I do not understand why he has thought of sending Mir Jumla against us, who are holding the skirt of imperial favours. Regarding the arrears of peshkash, written by the Emperor, I am trying to expedite the payment (of it) as quickly as possible. By God's grace there may not be any occasion to write such a threatening letter.

The Emperor has issued orders regarding the ships of Mir Jumla², and reminders also have been issued. What can an officer of the port say about the $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the goods of Mir Jumla lying on his ships, which are connected with the Emperor? True, it has been customary from days of old that $\frac{1}{10}$ th () of merchandise whether belonging to Mir Jumla or to any other person should be taken, and it is the rule in the port. I hope no deviation from this accepted rule be made.

B.—MIR JUMLA'S LETTERS

(a) *Karnatak Affairs*1. *From Mir Jumla Mir Muhammad Said to Qutb Shah* (66a-67a):

Received your order together with the special robe of honour and other articles. I pray for your fresh conquests, which will be a source of

¹ Evidently this letter was written when Mir Jumla was sent against Bijapur (beginning of 1657) See the Letter of Qutb Shah to Shah Abbas II. Tabrezi, 141b/144a. submitted by me to the Indian History Congress, Hyderabad. 1911.

² This means that the Emperor claimed the share of customs due from Mir Jumla's ships which Qutb Shah reasonably expected from traders.

great pleasure to me. Almost all wazirs, zamindars, maniwar¹ and sardars and middlemen have done their best in this expedition. They have all received the special presents sent by you and offered their grateful thanks for the same. Every one expects to get your favour, according to his merit, and I expect that these dependents engaged in fighting would secure your favour. As far as I know, I do not waver in the discharge of my duty of the management of territory and provisions, of securing the goodwill of the great and the small, of reconciling soldiers and subjects, and defeating the enemies, which I am doing to the best of my knowledge. I pray that Your Majesty would always advise me².

2. *Petition of Mir Jumla to Qutb Shah (150b-151b):*

The actions of the Captain³ indicated that he was strongly fortifying the fort with many articles, war materials and weapons, and other necessities of defending the fort, without any signs of declaration of war from the soldiers of Islam (i. e., Qutbshahi troops). It appeared that the Captain would not obey our orders only on our repeated threats and advice. Hence on 12 Zikada I reached a place, half a *kroh* (1 mile) from the fort with wazirs and sardars to capture it, and began to encircle it. Again I threatened the messenger of the Captain to desist from such a course. As the *firingis* always act with foresight, they realised that the Shahi troops have reached perfection in the art of capturing forts, and thought it beyond their power to fight them. Hence they gave up all ideas of war and opened negotiations and sent their ambassador to me requesting me to go to the fort and return after completing negotiations. I replied that as the preliminaries of peace have not yet been performed, I would not

¹ 'Maniwar' is a Tamil word meaning a 'superintendent of revenue collection'. It is probably used here as a contemptuous designation of the Nayaks. See Sarkar *House of Shivaji*, 300n.

² It is not possible to say which expedition is meant. This letter indicates that the Hindu nayaks, sardars and others were rewarded for assistance in Qutbshahi conquests in the Karnatak and tells us something of Mir Jumla's methods of consolidation of the conquered countries. From English factory records we know that Mir Jumla consolidated the conquered countries as he proceeded along, and endeavoured to control the economic resources of those places.

³ From the contents, especially the reference to the *qaulnama*, the Captain appears to be the President of Pulicat. The date 12 Zikada (evidently of A.H. 1056) would give 11 Dec. 1646.

go, and if the Captain really desire peace, he must come to me; and then what is expedient would be done. The Captain expressed regret at his conduct and thought it safe to profess submission and come to me. I also entered the fort with a few of the royal officers and observed the width of the ditch, its depth, and the strength of the fort and the preparations for its defence, and the quality and quantity of war weapons—cannon, and muskets, which were invented by the *firingi kafir*. I inspected these very closely. Fifty-two thunderous *hattjosh* cannon (made of a metal compound of iron, antimony, lead, gold, tin, copper and silver), each of which is sufficient to protect the fort, were placed in a special way on the *burj* (bastions) of the fort; even an ant cannot reach up to the side of the ditch, 15 yards wide, and the sea-water encircled the fort during the ebb and flow of the tide. The inner fort¹ has 4 *burjs* which are very strong and broad; each is a fort by itself. On the whole the fort is so strong that without a Sultan like you, no one can aspire after conquering it. Though I would have fought and conquered it after some time by dint of your good luck, yet many soldiers of ours would, in that case, have fallen. Thank God, by your good fortune, the Captain has accepted the yoke of our sovereignty. He wanted that the lease, as arranged with the Rayal, should be confirmed. I was at first unwilling. After much negotiations and correspondence, war seemed impending. Hence, ultimately, I agreed to the terms of the *qaul-nama*, and after ratifying the arrangements for peace, I appointed Muhammad Qasim Mazandarani² as thanadar of that place. Good relations and favours to the Captain would secure the goodwill of the inhabitants of the people on the frontier of this country. So I pray that you will please send a letter according to the draft sent herewith.

3. *Nawab Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla to Qutb Shah*
(67a-68a):

I feel myself highly honoured with the *Naorozi*¹ Khilat sent by you. When you sent me to the Karnatak, you had agreed

¹ See Love I, 204-205.

² We read of one Qasim Beg Mazandarani, originally sipasalar of Mazandaran, who was sent by Shah Abbas I along with Nawab Allami Fahmi Shaikh Muhammad Khatun as ambassador to Golkonda. Qasim Beg died after 2 years. *Qutbnuma*, 35-36.

that after the capture of Gandikota, you would permit me to go to Mecca. The fort has now been conquered together with many others. So I now beg permission to go to Mecca², as I am now middle-aged³ and signs of weakness and illness are visible, and as I do not possess sufficient energy to look to the affairs of the world. I have not been negligent in discharging my worldly duties, and I like to spend the remainder of my life in Mecca and other places of pilgrimage in order to gather something for the next world. I pray that this petition be granted, as my previous petitions have been granted by Your Majesty, so that I might prepare for the journey during the seven or eight months which intervene before the pilgrimage season, and arrange my affairs to the best of my ability. I tried before, through my son, to get this permission, but I did not receive any favourable reply. Awaiting Your Majesty's orders.

4. *Mir Jumla's reply to Qutb Shah (68a):*

I have been ill for about 20 days, and my appearance has been greatly affected. The illness was accompanied with painful vomiting for 3 or 4 times. I could neither eat nor even sleep. I am slightly better as a result of the treatment of a physician (not named). My weakness due to illness has been great. When I recover I will again deal effectively with your enemies in the locality and do my duties. Though I require a permanent treatment yet, as it is desirable to serve our master in good health, I hope that within a few days, I would be engaged in my duties.

5. *Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla to Nawab Mirza Ahmad (68b).*

This letter conveys usual condolences to the addressee on the death of his mother.

1 That Gandikota was conquered in the spring of 1650 is corroborated by this letter; the Khilat seems to have been presented in the beginning of the year 1060 A. H.

2 There is a reference in *Adab-i-Alamgiri* (OPL. Ms.) (34b) to Mir Jumla's suggestion of going to the holy sanctuaries in reply to Qutb Shah's gesture of conciliation. (1654).

3 This gives an idea of Mir Jumla's age—probably he was then 60 years old. From *Aurangnamah* we learn that Mir Jumla was 70 during the war with Shuja A. H. 1070=A. D. 1658-59. This would indicate that he was born about A. H. 1000=1590-91.

6. *Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla in reply to Nawab Allami Shaikh Muhammad Khatun*¹ (69a-69b):

You have enquired about my affairs in this region. I have conquered almost all zamindars of Karnatak especially that of Jinji², who possessed a large army and was more powerful in many respects than others. Nawab Mustafa Khan has come to this region and wants to extricate Jinji from our hands. He is proceeding through Jagdev³ country towards Jinji. But I have reached there before Mustafa. The Raja of Jinji, who sticks to his promises, came out of the fort to see me and the agreement was reiterated that he would not prove disloyal. When only 4/5 *cos* (8/10 miles) separated the two armies of myself and Mustafa Khan, the Raja of Jinji with his well-equipped army came out of the fort and encamped 1 *cos* before me. I joined him and his army, then 4 *cos* distant from Mustafa. Then Mustafa did not mobilise, and the armies stood face to face⁴. Thank God, our army is well-equipped, and there is no fear. People say that Mustafa is willing to make a peace. So far so good. The strength of the Bijapuri army is gradually decreasing, ours increasing day by day. The issue will be known in a few days.

7. *Mir Muhammad Said to Qutbatul Hukma Hakimul mulk Peshwa* (69b-70a):

Received your letter. The capture of Chingleput, which, in strength and impregnability regards itself equal to the seventh heaven

¹ We know details of Nawab Allami Shaikh Muhammad Khatun from *Hadiyat us Salatin* (Sarkar Ms) Pt 2. (See my article) Some Aspects of Golkunda Administration in J.B.R.S. March, 1944).

² This refers to the race for possession of Jinji between Golkunda and Bijapur. Mustafa Khan of Bijapur was sent to besiege Jinji on 10th January, 1648 but died on 9th Nov., before the actual surrender of the fort. Muhammadnamah B. S. ; Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 22.

³ This country consisted of the northern corner of the Salem district (the Kaveripatan or Krishnagiri taluq) and the adjacent part of the N. Arcot district. It comprised many forts including Ambur, Kankuti (Congoondy, 20 miles west of Ambur), Tirupatur, Kaveripatan, Hosan Raicotta, Raidurg, Kanakgiri, Ratangiri, Melgiri (Soolgiri), Arjunkt, and Dhalinkot (?) (Denkani-cotta). (Raidurg on the Pennar river, S. W. by W. of Jinji). Sarkar. *House of Shivaji*, 18, 20 and n.

⁴ The letters of Qutb Shah to Shahjahan and Fasihuddin Muhammad describe the race between Bijapur and Golkunda for Jinji and refer to the making of an agreement of partition of the Karnatak in the proportion. 2 : 1, (Tabrezi 5a-7a; 25a-b).

has been a source of great rejoicing. These victories are due to God's blessings, Padshah's luck, and your prayers.

8. *Mir Muhammad Mir Jumla to one Hajib of Prince Aurangzeb after capture of Wandiwash (74a):*

Received your soothing letter, full of words of friendship and unity. Those persons who violated your orders have been chastised and humbled, and their group has been scattered. Aurangzeb wanted some elephants. I have already begun to make enquiries. They will be sent when received. I hope that the door of correspondence, of friendship and love would remain always open.

(b) *Letters to Bijapuri Nobles and Officers:*

1. *Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla to Nawab Mustafa Khan, on the death of his eldest son Nuruddin Muhammad, entitled Shah Nawaz Khan and his brother Muhammad Muqim entitled Asad Khan a few months after. (74b)*

Verse: Time leaves some wound on man's mind,
One comes before another is healed up.

I pray that such calamities may not happen. Repeated calamities are very grievous. Accept my thousand condolences;

Verse: I have pondered much on the past and the future.
Inscrutable are the ways of God.
We have to keep silence.

You are an experienced man and it will be audacious on my part to give any advice to you. You are well-acquainted with all the verses in the Quran and the Hadiths¹, which inculcate patience; but as a sympathetic friend, I (crave your indulgence) in writing to you. God's decrees are inexorable. The arrows of Fate cannot be recalled in spite of greatest human endeavour:

2. *Notes on the letter of Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla to a Bijapur grandee²:*

Mir Jumla's answers to Bijapur's allegations against Golkunda may be summed up as follows;—

¹ This letter gives an idea of Mir Jumla's acquaintance with the Quran and Hadiths, and hence of his education. In a letter to Qutb Shah, Shah Jahan describes him as صاحب سيف والقام (Guldashta).

² For letter (Tabrezi 151b-153a); See Pr. I.H. R. C., Mysore Session 1942.

1. Father of Timma Nayar, possessing Jillala, captured Gandikota.

2. After some time Gandikota belonged to Timma Nayar, and Jillala to the Reddi; but there seemed to exist a great co-operation between the two.

3. Bijapur captured Jillala, imprisoned the Reddi; the Reddi escaped and reoccupied it, and with the help of Timma Nayar, invaded 2 or 3 villages of Nandial.

4. Bijapur (Khan Muhammad) made a treaty with Timma Nayar, the Reddi paying compensation, (evidently the villages were retained by the Reddi).

5. Gandikota and neighbouring towns were allocated to Qutb Shah.

6. Mir Jumla went to conquer them (c. 1650).

7. Syed Chand Muhammad, havildar of Nandiyal, demanding surrender of 2 or 3 villages from Narsu Pandit (of Jillala) now under Qutb Shah *z. e.*, Mir Jumla).

8. Mir Jumla instructed Narsu Pandit to inform Chand Muhammad that the task of reduction was not yet over, and that he had no desire to have any concern with the villages of Nandiyal.

9. Mir Jumla argues that the fact of Bijapur's once capturing Jillala and then giving it up cannot be regarded as offering a reasonable claim to Bijapur over it; because he himself had seized some villages in the Tanjore country and held them for some time, but after the partition, Jinji fell to Bijapur and was given up by Mir Jumla. Again he could have also seized the villages of Kurnool and also two villages of Jillala (given as *inam* by Bijapur). Moreover Qutb Shah was prepared to give up the claim even over Gandikota and Udgir, and though Jillala was worth fighting for, its importance in comparison with them was less. Hence Bijapur's attempt at concealing the truth by a claim was against the spirit of co-operation between the two Sultans.

10. To Bijapur's taking objection (evidently as they were regarded as being under its protection) to Mir Jumla's arrest of the Reddi for assisting Timma Nayar and capture of his territory, Mir Jumla replied that Adil Shah's letters did not contain any resolve to punish them.

3. *Copy of 'Ahanama from Nawab Muhammad (Mir Muhammad) Said Mir Jumla to Ikhlas Khan Wazir of Adil Shah (75a-76b)*

All my actions follow the terms of the 'Ahdnama' between us just as all men follow the عهد الست between the² creator and human beings. I keep an eye to their observance, and have not forsaken the requirements of subservience and obedience. This is also to the liking of Nawab Ashraf Humayun Ala. He, too, would look to its observance as far as possible. So long as no violation comes from you, I would also not violate it. My witnesses are God, the Prophet and the Imams. It is unnecessary to say much, as God knows everything.

4. *Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla's reply to Ikhlas Khan (76a-b):*

Received your kind letter and learnt of its contents. In reply to the complaints made by you against us, I have to say that they are due to false machinations of evil-minded persons. Please sift the truth from falsehood and reconsider these matters.

Then the guilty persons would never dare to do so again. What messengers have we forbidden from starting? Which spies have not returned (to Bijapur) from their destination through the high-ways of this country? Strange it is that however much we show deference and love to you, the more you complain against us. Let those who tread on the path of truth reach their destination, and those liars be kept back from falsehoods.

5. *Nawab Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla's reply to Ikhlas Khan (76b-77b):*

Received your letter. Every sentence is full of documents and chosen words to substantiate your point. I understand them as far as I could. It is not desirable to agree to a *qaul* which is not

1 Does it refer to the secret agreement made by Mir Jumla with Ikhlas Khan, Abyssinian governor of Bijapuri Karnatak against his wrathful master (C. 1654)? (Adab 36b, 39a) Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, I. 198.

2 Reference to the Quranic text الست بربكم قالوا بلى (v. 1146-47: Sura VII. 172) See Yusuf Ali, Pts I-X, 393-4.

3 From this it appears that the Bijapuris cherished suspicions of the Qutb-shahi party as regards messengers (qasids) and spies (jasus). These would be used as an argument to prove that Qutb Shah violated the agreement regarding the Karnatak.

observed. Some sentences of my previous letter has been used to prove our violation of the *qaul*. I now say that we do not think anything except unity and friendship with you. I have never done or will never do anything against our friendship. Despite our efforts to strengthen this relation, your letters do not indicate any reciprocity. The more we profess friendship, the greater your suspicions are. I request you to consider two things; (i) Regarding the spies, some conditions of their work and gaining information should be laid down. (ii) A personal enquiry into the alleged complaint that the Bijapuri spies have been maltreated here will convince you of our innocence. All complaints against us are of likenature.

6. *Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla to Mustafa Khan* (79a);

Received your two letters in succession at a time when I was glad. Glad to receive them, and to know that your kindness is on me and that you have praised me. I firmly believe that you will acknowledge my good and useful services. You had written to say that if my *harakras* came this side, I might know all details from them. I expect to be kept informed of your affairs, I have come to know what was written in the letter to Shivaji Pandit by you. Rest assured that by God's grace, your objective would be well-realised. Community of faith is one of the main causes of our mutual agreement, and we may ignore other points of view. My sole desire is that your enemies be annihilated and your good be attained. I feel honoured at your feelings of friendship towards me and I hope the results of this would soon be manifest. Other facts, which were written to Shivaji, would be described by him.

7. *Mir Jumla to Malik Raihan* ¹ (80b-81a)

Received your letter and gone through it 'word by word'. Rest assured from our side in all ways. You are like an elder

¹ An Abyssinian, in the employ of the Nizam Shahis, usually called Malik Raihan, who should be distinguished from Siddi Raihan, the Abyssinian slave, (*ruqa-rasan*), of Md. Adil Shah, entitled at first as Ikhlas Khan and then as Khan Muhammad Muzaffaruddin Khan-i-khanan, wazir of Bijapur (1648-57). After the extinction of the Nizamshahis, Malik Raihan gave up Sholapur to Adil Shah, joined the Bijapuri service as a general and often quarrelled with Mustafa Khan in the E. Karnatak expeditions 1647-48. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 56, 58.

After Mustafa's death the siege of Jinji was left to the charge of Malik Raihan till the arrival of Khan Muhammad. This letter seems to be a reply to Malik Raihan's letter to Mir Jumla: *Basatin*, 327-8.

brother to me, and I hope you will keep the usual affection on me. According to the agreement between us, I would spare no pains in endeavouring to secure your good, and I do not want that any defect would arise. Your letter to Qutb Shah was immediately despatched to him. The remaining matters you will learn through *wazaratpana* Dadaji Pandit.

8. *Same to same* (81a);

Deeply grieved to learn of the death of your father, who was on terms of close friendship with us. Condolences. Please follow his footsteps, so that his death might not lead to a change in the administration. Owing to our old relation, we want to be constantly informed of your affairs. Please keep correspondence with us and trust to our good wishes.

9. *From Nawab Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla to Siddi Abdul Wahhab, Subedar of Kurnool, who, for renewing friendship, demanded a hakim* (77b):

At a time when we were eagerly awaiting your letter by which our old friendship might be renewed, we got your kind letter. Coming from the garden of friendship, it soothed our hearts like the morning breeze.

Verse: It is not a letter, but a garden of paradise,
It is an enkindled light for the light of eyes.

It has adequately expressed our hearts' yearnings. When correspondence between us was opened and we came nearer each other, the needs of friendship would be adequately fulfilled. You may rest assured that not even a small jot of friendship would be given up.

You demanded a hakim, who knows the science of friendship, and is aware of its differences, who can feel the pulse of words and speeches of men and understands the spirit of times. Such a man is hereby sent. I believe that when you will tell him of your affairs, he will try to remove the causes of misunderstanding between us.

10. *Mir Jumla to a Bijapur Grandee*^a (153a):

Received your letter. Highly pleased with the news of the capture of Penukonda. I expect to hear of further and fresh victories.

¹ Malik Abdul was son of Malik Raihan I, an officer of Adil Shah. His slave was Siddi Jauhar. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 66.

² The Bijapuris captured Penukonda in 1653.

MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN THE SONTHAL PARGANAS.

By PROF. DR. K. K. BASU, M. A., PH. D.

In the fifties of the last century the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society, well marked for zeal, rectitude of intention and laborious devotion to benevolent objects, undertook to establish schools amongst the Sonthals. The Lieutenant, Governor of Bengal and the Governor General in Council both concurred in sanctioning the scheme for the education of the Sonthals and giving their hearty co-operation in carrying it out.

The scheme for the education of the Sonthals as detailed in the minute of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, consisted of beginning the work with those of the tribe whose location was nearest to the Society's station at Bhagalpur and devoting the services of one of the missionaries, with a salary to be paid by the Society and an allowance of Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 p. m. for travelling expenses, house rent etc., incurred in connection with the education of the Sonthals to be paid by the Government to this department of work; engaging other agents requisite for the purpose with salaries that was to be fixed in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction or the Educational Inspector of the District. It was proposed to recruit from Europe two teachers, not in Holy orders, to act under the superintending missionary as Divisional Inspecting Masters on a salary not exceeding Rs. 150 p. m. each and a small allowance for house-rent and travelling expenses. Their main duty would be to keep the teachers of the different schools steadily to their work. The Government would advance the sum of Rs. 2,000 towards the outfit and passage of the two such Divisional Inspecting Masters and the same amount was to be accounted for the Church Missionary Society Committee.

The amount of funds the Government might be willing to devote to the work in question was to be paid over to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society to be disbursed by

them in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction under the condition of giving in a half-yearly or quarterly return of the actual expenditure of the amounts received by them from the Government.

Lands and materials for the construction of school houses were to be provided to the Missionary authorities by the Government. These could not be utilised for any other purpose. The schools would be occasionally inspected by the Divisional Inspector and other superior educational officers of the Government who would report for any delinquency to the Superintending Missionary or the Committee of the Church Missionary Society.

The standard of education, time table etc., would be arranged by the Missionary and the Government educational officers in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction. In consideration of the public funds being spent upon such educational institutions the Government retained the right to fix the amount of secular instruction to be imparted in the schools though latitude was permitted to the mission authorities to add such religious teachings as the mission committee deemed proper.

It was proposed that there would be two sorts of schools namely the ordinary Day school and the Industrial School, in the latter of which various arts, such as, tanning, shoe-making, rope-making, carpet-making, weaving *tusur* silk and also methods of agriculture might be taught.

It was thought desirable that there should also be introduced in a limited measure female education, so that the instruction of both sexes might advance hand in hand.

The fund required to carry out fully the design would at the beginning amount to Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 per mensem. The Government proposed to provide this sum in addition to the sum of Rs. 2,000 needed for the outfit of two qualified lay teachers to be obtained from England.

The Governor General in Council acted entirely in accordance with the views expressed in the Hon'ble the Court of Directors' Despatch of 19th July, 1854, regarding imparting of secular education to an uncivilized tribe, and were of opinion that if the Church Missionary Society or any respectable person or body of persons

undertook to establish good schools among the Sonthals, the Government was bound to render liberal assistance to them, subject to the inspection of the officers of the Education Department.

In agreement with the above scheme for establishing schools among the Sonthals Mr. Harrison, Inspector of Schools of Bhagalpur division was directed to select in consultation with the Rev. Mr. Droese of the Church Missionary Society proper sites for the school houses. The Commissioner of the Sonthal Parganas and his assistants rendered the said school Inspector and Rev. Droese such help as was necessary in the matter. T. E. Hallet of the Church Missionary Society, Sonthal Parganas, supplied a statement of the Sonthal Mission School in his letter dated the 24th June 1860. We find that there were 14 schools with a total number of 487 boys and 23 girls. In the Tildiah School 13 girls read with boys numbering 42 while at Bansjorie, the number of girls being 10 only and that of boys 25. The other schools were located at Dearah, in pergunah Godda (with 40 boys), Pooree Dhumuee in pergunah Damin (with 36 boys), Choonchi in pergunah Damin (with 35 boys), Rampur in pergunah Dhamsaian (21 boys), Burio, in pergunah Damin (25 boys), Nomghani, in pergunah Damin (40 boys), Nowdyah, in pergunah Lachmipur (35 boys), Raghunathpur pergunah Lachmipur (30 boys), Dullu pergunah Luchmipur (29 boys), Dhumnee pergunah Damin (33 boys) and Sahibgunj pergunah Damin (37 boys). It appears from the letter of the Rev. E. Droese, to G. U. Yule, Commissioner of the Sonthal Parganas, dated the 26th June 1860, that there were in the Sonthal Parganas twelve Mission schools with 350 boys in daily attendance. This reduction in number of Missionary Schools and students was due to the establishment of schools by the Government.

The boys were instructed in Kaithi and Devanagari reading and writing in simple Nagari accounts and in elementary Geography. Bengali was popular with the Sonthals, who, as we learn from the letter of W. L. F. Robinson, the Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Sonthal Parganas, appointed Pandits to teach their sons the said language. In fact, some of them could read all the Government proclamations in Bengali circulated during the Sonthal insurrection.

The Educational staff kept up by the C. M. S., as narrated in the aforesaid letter of T. E. Hallet, consisted of one Superintending Master at Rs. 10 per mensem, and 14 teachers at from 5 to 9 rupees. Exclusive of charges for supervision, such as, travelling expenses, the average cost for the Sonthal Educational Establishment might be put down as Rs. 183 per mensem. It appears that 17 Sonthal youths were being trained for teachers to their countrymen at a monthly cost of Rs. $3\frac{3}{8}$ per mensem, which included clothing, repairs of houses etc. This number increased to 25 as it appears from the letter of Rev. Droese to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Parganas dated the 26th June 1860.

It redounds to the credit of the Missionary Society that it was prepared to bring the blessing of a Christian education within the reach of the whole Sonthal race by keeping up the existing school, adding few more and teaching the Sonthals not only Hindi but also Bengali.

The scheme for the education of the inhabitants of the Sonthal Parganas through the agency of the Church Missionary Society was not however approved of by the Hon'ble Court of Directors. In their letter, dated London, 22nd July 1857, they disapproved of the scheme on the ground that it identified "the Government in measures prosecuted by the Missionaries and so exposed the arrangement to the risk of perverted misconstruction". In their opinion "the Sonthal though equally debased in ignorance and devoid of rational religion with the races referred to in their Despatch of 1854 differed from them in one important particular. They did not occupy separate regions or tracts of country so as to form isolated communities locally separated as well as socially distinct from the Hindu and Musalman populations. They were, on the contrary, employed freely by Zamindars for jungle clearance and for other agricultural purposes and were thus often located in close vicinity with well inhabited towns and villages and mixed with the general population in many of the relations and concerns of life".

They felt, therefore, that in dealing with the Sonthals they were not "exempt from the necessity of maintaining that cautious line of proceeding essential in the establishments founded or

supported by the Government for the education of the people of India. It was altogether opposed to the rules if they took any step that might have the appearance of uniting the Government with the Missionary Society in measures having the aim of converting any class of population to Christianity. In view of the reasons mentioned above the Hon'ble Court of Directors desired that in supersession of the previous arrangement, a scheme was be prepared for affording the inhabitants of the Sonthal Districts the means of education through the agency of Government officers who must be strictly enjoined to abstain from any attempt to introduce religious subjects in any form.

The Court of Directors having thus discountenanced the missionary school, a fresh scheme was prepared to establish educational institutions in accordance with the Hon'ble Courts' sentiments. Some institutions on secular lines were instituted having their geographical positions remote from those established by the missionaries purposely for obviating the interference or classing of the one set with the other.

The Missionaries strongly objected to the establishments of such schools by the Government at places where the C. M. S. had established others. Their objections, as it appears from the extract of the report Rev. E. Droese, dated Bhagalpur, the 4th May 1857, sent to Hon'ble F. J. Halliday, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, by G. G. Cuthbert, Secretary, C. M. S., have been categorically enumerated below.

First, the Sonthals were all eager to have their children instructed to worship the same God which their rulers worshiped. The boys even before they know how to read learnt by heart the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer and Bible passages. Even the parents when present repeated all these together with their children. The Sonthals, young and old, had expressed their willingness to be taught the Christian religion; they said that it was the religion of the rulers and much better than the religion of the Diggus (*Diku*) a Sonthali word meaning "troubler" and applied to the Hindus and Muslims.

Secondly, Gurus, or Hindu teachers, could be had in plenty in the Sonthal country, as those that had failed in shop-keeping

and wanted to set himself up for shop-keeping were eager to get the post of a school master. But to consign to such hands the education of the simple Sonthals would thwart the philanthropic intentions of Government.

Thirdly, the masters of the school established besides the missionary schools would, from fear of seeing their schools ebb out in the approaching missionary schools, do all in their power to bring the Mission Schools into ill repute by canvassing the subject of religious instructions and the Sonthals who knew only good, would, by those tempters be taught to know besides the good also the evil.

The Commissioner of the Sonthal Parganas in his letter dated Bhagalpur, 30th August 1857 to the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal in reply to the Rev. Droese's report stating his objections to the establishment of any but mission schools in the Sonthal Districts urged the importance of establishing Government institutions in the Sonthal Land. In his opinion the question that seemed important to him was not which was best, a mission school or a Government one, but whether it was better to give no education at all than to give one by means of heathen school master. The Sonthals were very much in need for education, that consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic. Their land extended over 5,000 sq. miles and there was a village in each and every miles. There were thus no less than 25,000 villages for which schools were to be provided and allowing only one school master to ten villages, it was beyond the power of the Mission Society to provide 250 teachers. Such teachers had yet to be educated and converted.

No person who was not a native of or acclimatized by long residence to the Sonthal Districts could stand their unwholesome climate during the rains.

Secondly, in view of the wrongs endured by the Sonthals from mere ignorance of writing there was nothing wrong in communicating to them the first elements of knowledge by means of a heathen teacher and thereby attempting to remedy a positive evil at the risk of incurring a future one.

INDIAN EMBASSY TO KHUSRŪ II OF PERSIA¹

By B. GHOSH, M. A., ALLAHABAD.

In many books on Indian history² it is stated that Pulakeśin II, the Cālukyan king of the Deccan (A. D. 609—42), sent an embassy to Khusrū Parvīz, the Sassanian king of Persia (Chosroes II of the Greeks, A. D. 590-628), that he received a return embassy from the Persian king and that this latter event is commemorated in one of the paintings at Ajantā. The basis of this belief is an article by Fergusson, in which he tries to establish the following points : ³

(1) In Cave I at Ajantā there are some pictures on the ceiling which can appropriately be labelled 'Drinking Scenes' and in which the figures look like foreigners and are evidently intended to represent the Persians. In the same cave there is another painting depicting an Indian king on his throne, receiving a deputation of some persons, who are 'as evidently Persians as those painted on the roof'. The paintings of the cave must, on various grounds, be ascribed to a date between A. D. 610 and 640.

(2) The central figure in the drinking scenes may well be that of a king. The only Persian king who was of sufficient importance to be commemorated in this way and who was on the throne at that time was Khusrū Parvīz. There is a class of late Sassanian coins, not infrequently found in India, which bear the legend Vāsudeva

¹ One of my colleagues, Mr. Ummed Ali, whose subject is Chemistry but whose recreation is the study of history, pointed out to me sometime ago that there is nothing in the Arabic text of Tabari to show that Khusrū sent an embassy to the court of Pulakeśin II. I am thankful to him for having led me to the study of the problem.

² Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, 1884, p. 41; Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 442; Tripathi, *History of Ancient India*, 1942, p. 399; P. T. S. Aiyangar, *An Advanced History of Ancient India*.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, N. S. 1879, pp. 155 ff.

in good Indian Devanāgrī. These coins are assigned to Khusrū II, and the fact that he used Indian characters on his coins shows that he had intimate connexion with India.

(3) Ṭabarī, the Arab historian, says that Khusrū received an embassy from an Indian king, whose name can be construed as Pulikeśā. As the embassy scene at Ajantā represents the Indian king as receiving a letter from the Persians, this fact, 'taken together with the circumstances, may be considered sufficient to establish the fact that an active correspondence did take place at this time between the two kings.'

The conclusions of Fergusson have been responsible for one of those historical untruths which have lingered longer than they deserved. Smith goes so far as to observe: 'The picture in addition to its interest as a contemporary record of unusual political relations between India and Persia, is one of the highest value as a landmark in the history of art. It not only fixes the date of some of the most important paintings in Ajantā and so establishes a standard by which the date of others can be judged; but also suggests the possibility that the Ajantā school of pictorial art may have been derived from Persia and ultimately from Greece.'¹

These far-reaching remarks are certainly without the least justification. For the true significance of the paintings was pointed out long ago by Foucher, who identified them as nothing more than Buddhistic scenes and the usual Bacchanalian groups with Pāñcika as the central figure and Yakṣas and Yakṣis as attendants, that are met with in Buddhist art from the early Kushan period onwards.² He continues that the appearance of the figures four times in four symmetrical corners ought to be a sufficient warning for not lingering there in search of historical truths by assuming any representation of Sassanian kings and queens. With this correct identification of the paintings the whole edifice of Fergusson falls to the ground: for although an Indian king might have sent an embassy to Persia, as is attested to by

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gāndhāra*, Tome II, p. 151; cf. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 99. The latest theory is that the paintings in Cave I at Ajantā belong to the fifth century A. D. See Yazdani, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXVII, 1941, p. 14.

Ṭabarī, there exists absolutely no reason to believe that an Indian king received a return embassy from the Sassanian king.¹

Nor is there any force in the argument that Khusrū's intimate connexion with India is proved by certain coins with the legend Vāsudeva in Indian characters, for these coins cannot be ascribed to Khusrū simply on the ground that the reverse effigy on these is the same as that occurring on some rare coins of that king. These coins, according to Cunningham, must have belonged to a prince of Multan, Vāsudeva by name, a contemporary of Khusrū.² The significance of these coins will be discussed later on.

There is, however, no reason to doubt the fact of an Indian embassy to the Persian court, which, according to Ṭabarī, the great Arab historian (A. D. 838-921), was received by Khusrū in the thirty-sixth year of his reign (A. D. 625-26). The name of the Indian king who sent the embassy is given in the printed text of Ṭabarī as FRMĪShĀ (فرمیشا) and the variants QRMĪSĀ (قرميسا) and QRMĪSĪĀ (قرميسيا) are noted.³

Regarding the identity of this Indian king, Fergusson quotes from a communication from Nöldeke, the renowned scholar of Arabic: 'We may therefore assume فرمیشا PhRMĪShĀ is intended, or, as the Arabs use Ph for the Persian P and I for the Persian E, we must write the name PRMĪShĀ. At the same time, as R and L are written with the same sign in Pehlvi, so is R to be taken as a

¹ That Ṭabarī's account does not justify the theory of a return embassy was pointed out by Rājendralāla Mitra (*J. R. A. S.*, 1880, p. 129). Fergusson's reply (which is entirely unbecoming of a person of his learning) that the whole context in Ṭabarī shows that the relations between the Persian and Indian kings must have been very long and intimate (*ibid.*, p. 150) is entirely ineffective. Fergusson's view has been criticized by some scholars in recent times as well (*e. g.* R. C. Majumdar, *Jour. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. IV, pt. ii, pp. 29 ff), but the fact that some latest text-books repeat it is a sufficient justification for re-examining the whole question in some detail.

² *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. V, p. 123.

³ Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1881-82, pp. 1052-3. The Indian embassy is also referred to in the Persian translation of Ṭabarī by Bal'amī (tenth century) without specification of the king's name. See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Tabari*, 1869, Vol. II, p. 339 (not p. 384 as stated by Fergusson). Our thanks are due to the staff of the Khuda Baksh Oriental Library, Patna, for help in finding out the relevant passage in the Arabic text.

false mode of expressing L. As M may be substituted for K (Q) in the Arabic, or in the Pehlvi, it follows that the name may be correctly read a Pulikeśa'. In his German translation of Ṭabarī, Nöldeke states more cautiously: 'The correct form is probably Pulukeśa (with the palatal sibilant), who, as Bühler informs me, was one of the two great Indian kings at that time.... As is well-known / and r have the same sign in Pehlvi; whether the misrepresentation of k by m already existed in Pehlvi or occurs first in Arabic, we cannot say.' (Translated).

It is possible to agree with Nöldeke only up to a certain extent and take FRMESHĀ as the correct name of the Indian king as known to Ṭabarī, but it is certainly too much of a textual violence to correct it to Pulukeśā. There is no doubt that von Gutschmidt has hit upon the correct Indian equivalent when he observes that the word represents nothing more than the usual Indian royal title *paramēśa*, 'the supreme lord'.² It is certainly permissible to go a step further and take *paramēśvara*³ as the correct form of the word.

This restoration of the word points to the conclusion that the embassy was sent by an Indian king who styled himself *paramēśvara*. This title, which became, along with two others, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja*,⁴ an almost indispensable royal title in mediaeval days, had, so far as we are aware, first been adopted by Yaśodharman of Malwa in the first half of the sixth century A. D., but did not become common till a few centuries later. In the period with which we are concerned, even Harṣavardhana of Kanauj did not thus style himself, as the title does not occur in his official documents. Bāṇa no doubt twice refers to Harṣa as *paramēśvara*.⁵ But in one

1 *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, p. 371 n.

2 *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 746, p. 746 (translated). This has also been suggested by others, see Ettinghausen, *Harshavardhana*, p. 53, quoted by R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*

3 Cf Mandasor stone inscription. Fleet, No. 35: *nām-āparaṁ jagati kāntam=ado durāpam rājādhirāja-paramēśvara ity=uduḥham.*

4 Beni Prasad's statement (*State in Ancient India*, p. 290) that from the Gupta period onwards an independent king—generally a real emperor—almost always styles himself *paramēśvara*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* is difficult to substantiate.

5 *Harṣacarita*, ed. Vidyāsāgara, pp. 112 and 210.

of these cases the word is a *double entendre* (the comparison being with Śiva), used along with similar words (e.g. Puruṣottama=Viṣṇu). In the other case, it is only one of the many pompous titles attributed to Harṣa and has little bearing on actual facts. The same title again is used for Harṣa in a Nausārī copper-plate of A. D. 706, in which it is stated that Dadda II, the great-grandfather of the author of the grant, afforded protection to a chief of Valabhī, who had been defeated by the *paramēśvara*, the illustrious Harṣa.¹ As this is a late document, its value on the point under discussion may be regarded as dubious. As the title does not occur in the documents issued by Harṣa himself, viz., the Banskhera and Madhuban copper-plates and the Sonpat and Nālandā seals, it cannot be regarded as one of the recognized official dignities adopted by Harṣa. If it is assumed that it was Harṣa who was responsible for the embassy to Khusrū's court in 625-26, it is difficult to explain why he should subscribe himself as *paramēśvara* in his message to the Persian king and omit this title in his own copper-plates issued in 628 and 631, though retaining therein the two other titles *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja*.²

To turn now to the other famous contemporary ruler, Pulakeśin II. It is well-known that he proudly bore the title *paramēśvara*³ and that his immediate successors made a special display of it in their inscriptions by stating that he obtained this second name by defeating Harṣa. This suggests that the title had a special significance with Pulakeśin II and that therefore he has greater claims than Harṣa for being regarded as the Paramēśvara who was the author of the embassy. At the same time it should be noted that the term 'king of India', which Tabarī uses to denote the Indian correspondent of Khusrū, is more appropriate for Harṣa than Pulakeśin,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, pp. 77ff.

² Banskhera and Madhuban copper-plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. pp. 210ff; Vol. VII, pp. 157ff. The same two titles occur on the Sonpat and Nālandā seals of Harṣa, Fleet, No. 52; Sastri, *Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material*, p. 68.

³ Cf. Karnul copper-plate of Ādityavarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 67: *samara-saṁsaktā-sakal-ottarāpath-eśvara-śrī-Harṣavardhana-parājay-opalabdha-paramēśvara-śabd-ālamkṛtasya*; for other grants. see *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 86; Vol. IX, p. 124; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 15 etc.

inasmuch as the western world was politically more intimately connected with northern India than with the Deccan. ¹

Yet another contemporary ruler, much more obscure in history, called himself *paramēśvara* in his coins. Mention has been made above of the coins of Vāsudeva bearing bilingual legends in Sassanian Pahlavī and Devanāgarī, from which it is known that he was the ruler of Bahman (Brahmanābād), Multan, Tukān, Zabulistan and Sapardalaksān, probably Rajputāna). Another ruler of the same region, who is known from very similar coins and must have been a very near contemporary, was Śāhi Tigina, who is called the master of Takān and Khurāsān in the Pahlavī legend and the 'supreme lord' of India and Iran in the Nagari (*Hiti vi ca Airān ca paramēśvara*). ² The legends bring out three points: in the first place Śāhi Tigina bore the title *paramēśvara*; secondly, he called himself the king of India, *i. e.*, the Indus region, which was the India *par excellence* to the western countries; and thirdly he and Vāsudeva almost certainly belonged to some Sassanian dynasty, as is evident from their coin types as well as the use of Sassanian Pahlavī on their coins, ³ and what is more important were in some way intimately connected with Khusrū II himself, their coins having the same bust on the reverse as some coins of Khusrū. One of these two rulers, therefore, with their undoubted Sassanian affiliation and their territory close to Persia, is more likely to have been responsible for the embassy to the Persian court than any other contemporary Indian king. If this view is correct, the embassy was only a local affair, with no bearing on the main political history of India. There is however, one objection to this hypothesis: the correspondence between an

¹ This has been pointed out by R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.* It is, however, difficult to agree to the other reasons adduced by him to support his hypothesis, *e. g.* as Harṣa's empire was closer to Persia and there was an old and frequented route between the two countries, Harṣa is more likely than Pulakeśin to be responsible for the embassy. If Pulakeśin sent the embassy, he must have chosen the sea route which was also well-known and frequented. The existence of this route is vouched by Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa*, iv. 60, where Raghu is said to have proceeded to Persia by the land route, no doubt implying thereby that an alternative sea route also existed (*Pārasikāṁś=stato jetum pratasthe sthala-varīmanā*).

² Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 123.

³ Cf. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 30.

Indo-Sassanian prince and Khusrū must have been in Pahlavī and it is unlikely that the former should mention his Indian title *paramēśvara*¹ and not its Pahlavī equivalent in his letter, as he does in the Pahlavī legend on his coins.

We have examined above the respective claims of three contemporary Indian rulers who could have sent the embassy to Khusrū. There is some ground for disputing the claims of all the three, but the claims of Harṣa are the weakest. The objections against the other two are not insuperable, but the insufficiency of the data prevents a final choice between them.

¹ Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, regarded the bust as representing the sun-god of Multān, and his view is generally accepted. See Parruck: *Sāsānian Coins*, p. 27. Contrast, however, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. IV, p. 41.

SIKHISM AND THE MEDIEVAL REFORMATION

By ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

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I

The great religious movement, which gradually permeated almost the whole of India, and exercised a powerful influence on spiritual and social life during the Middle Ages, had its origin in the South. Its beginnings may be traced to the work of the celebrated philosopher-reformer, Śaṅkarāchāryya, whose greatest achievement was the extermination of decadent Buddhism and the consequent revival of Hinduism, not only in the Deccan, but in Northern India as well. He established a logical monistic system on a very strong basis, but his emphasis on the path of knowledge, so congenial to the learned Brahmins immersed in the hoary traditions of the Upanishads, failed to evoke a hearty response from the common people. It was felt that the best way to attract the popular mind towards Hinduism was to interpret it in terms understood by the masses. The necessity of making Hinduism a living, active force in the life of the common people was gradually becoming stronger and stronger, for Islam had already thrown up a powerful challenge to the guardians of Hindu society in the South.

The rise of Islam in the beginning of the seventh century was almost immediately followed by the expansion of Arab maritime trade to the western coast of India. Colonisation naturally followed commerce. "From the seventh century onwards it is well known that Persian and Arab traders settled in large numbers at the different ports on the western coast of India and married women of the country and these settlements were specially large and important in Malabar where from a very early time it seems to have been the policy to afford every encouragement to traders at the ports". There is epigraphic evidence to show that there were Arab settlements in western India in the eighth century. It may be assumed that the number of settlers increased after the conquest of Sind—there are references to Arab

naval invasions of Broach and Kathiawad in the eighth century—and that the religion of the new-comers was making peaceful conquests in this hospitable country. The beginning of the ninth century saw the conversion of the last of the Cheraman Perumal Kings of Malabar. Although the story of this conversion is not free from legendary embellishments, we may safely conclude that Islam was flourishing on the west coast. Masudi, who visited India in 916 A. D., found more than 10,000 Muslim settlers at Seymore (modern Chaul).

It is possible that Śaṅkarācāryya's great revivalist movement was not altogether unconnected with the challenge of Islam. That crusader against Buddhism and Jainism could hardly have been totally indifferent to the new faith from beyond the seas gradually feeling its way within the sacred fold of the Vedic religion. Fawcett says, "He was born at Kaladi near the Eluvayi river when the country was in peril. Her King had been converted to Islam, and that religion was gaining ground. Brahminism must be revived, so Śiva was re-incarnated in the child of a widow". The fact that neither the incidents of Sankara's life nor his numerous writings betray any reaction against Islam need not surprise us, for it is doubtful whether Islam was at that time strong enough in Southern India to create serious alarm in Hindu society. He might have hoped that the revival of Brahmanism at the cost of Buddhism would naturally curb the zeal and influence of the Muslim missionaries. A specific crusade against Islam was probably uncalled for at the time.

Some modern writers seem to believe that Sankara defended Hinduism against Islam with weapons borrowed from the Muslims. Dr. Tarachand admits that there is no direct testimony to establish a connection between Śaṅkara and Islam, but he has his suspicions. He says, "Śaṅkara was born at a time when Muslims were beginning their activities in India, and, if tradition is correct, when they had gained a notable success in the extension of their faith by converting the King of the land. He was born and brought up at a place where many ships from Arabia and the Persian Gulf touched. If his extreme monism, his stripping of the *One* of all semblances of duality, his attempt to establish this monism on the authority of revealed scriptures, his desire to purge the cult of many abuses, had even a faint echo of the new noises that were abroad, it would not be a matter for great

surprise or utter incredulity"¹. To us it seems that Śaṅkara, a Brahmin steeped in the tradition of Vedic learning, required no 'faint echo' coming from aliens to appreciate the significance of monism. The conception of appealing to revealed scriptures need not have been borrowed from Islamic theology, for in those days every Brahmin believed that the *Śruti* offered the final solution of all religious problems. If Śaṅkara was in any way connected with Islam, as we believe he was, he was an enemy rather than a borrower. He was the leader of a great defensive movement: Hinduism had to be defended against the encroachments of Buddhism and Islam.

But, as we have said, Sankara failed to bring Hinduism to the level of a really popular religion, understood and appreciated by the masses to whom the appeal of Islam was naturally the most powerful. Another transformation of the Vedic religion was required for the protection of the Hindu society against the growing threat of Islam. Muslim travellers visiting Southern India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries refer to the increasing number and strength of the Muslims. The *Bhakti* cult provided the much-needed relief, and it was brought into prominence by the great Vaishṇava teacher Rāmānuja, who flourished in the eleventh century.

Dr. Tarachand observes that 'the speculations and religious tone' of the Vaishṇava teachers of Southern India 'show closer parallelism' in relation to Islam. But it seems that all those features of South Indian religious thought which he traces to 'Islamic influence'² may be satisfactorily explained with exclusive reference to the purely Hindu background³.

II

Medieval Reformation assumes a definitely liberal character with Rāmānanda, whom Dr. Tarachand rightly describes as 'the bridge between the *Bhakti* movement of the south and the north'⁴. Although a disciple of the Rāmānuja school, he founded a new sect which offered more generous recognition to the spirit of the age. As

1 *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 111.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 112-116.

3 Detailed examination of this question is not possible for want of space.

4 *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 143.

Macauliffe says, "The theological tenets of the new faith corresponded to some extent with those of Rāmānuja, except that Sītā and Rāma instead of Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa¹ became special objects of Rāmānanda's worship, and the culinary and kindred rules of the Rāmānujis were generously relaxed"². He admitted to his sect disciples from all castes, even from Muslims, and called them 'the Liberated'. "He deemed forms of adoration superfluous, and held that the supreme reward of devotion was to be obtained by incessantly uttering God's name"³.

The simplification of worship and the liberalisation of the traditional caste rules were Rāmānanda's most important contributions to the solution of the religious problems of his day. There are reasons to believe that these novelties were due, in some measure at least, to the influence of Islam. Rāmānanda certainly flourished after the establishment and consolidation of Muslim rule in Northern India⁴. By that time Islam must have usurped a large part in the religious life of the country. Its liberalism must have appeared as a formidable threat to the orthodox section of the Hindus. The country badly required the appearance of religious reformers who would be prepared to accept the challenge of Islam and to defend Hinduism with weapons stolen from the enemy's camp. Such a champion the liberal section of the Hindus found in Rāmānanda. Macauliffe says, "It is certain that Rāmānanda came in contact at Benares with learned Musalmans...."⁵. This contact ushered in one of the most fruitful movements in Indian History.

But we must not exaggerate Rāmānanda's success. There is no evidence to show that his teaching served as a step towards bridging the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslim community did not accept the Rāma-Sītā creed. His only known Muslim disciple was Kabir; and, according to one tradition, Kabir was not a born Muslim. Nor did the Hindus accept Rāmānanda as a recognised

1 Was this substitution due to the fact that Sītā and Rām were far more familiar to the people of Benares and the adjoining region than Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa?

2 Vol. VI, p. 103.

3 Macauliffe, Vol. VI, p. 104.

4 For the controversy regarding the dates of his birth and death, see Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, pp. 142-143.

5 Vol. VI, p. 102.

religious teacher ; on the other hand, Hinduism seems to have engulfed the liberal movement initiated by him. "Most of the present followers of Rāmānanda appear to have completely fallen away from his teaching, and observe caste rules with the utmost strictness. As far as their tenets are concerned, they appear to have become hopelessly confused with the Rāmānujis, and to differ only in their sectarial marks and their preference for Sītā and Rāma to Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa as subjects of worship".

The most fruitful aspect of Rāmānanda's work is to be found in the teaching of Kabir, perhaps the most cosmopolitan reformer of medieval India. Macauliffe says, "Kabir has written works which all religious denominations can accept, and which, if perused without bigotry, are advantageous for the salvation of all persons. Kabir was so steadfast in his utterance of God's name, that in comparison with it he deemed worthless the rules of caste and the Hindu and Muhammadan religious observance². This cosmopolitanism was probably due in a large measure to the variety of his religious training. He was subjected to Hindu influences from his earliest years. In Benares he lived in a strong Hindu environment³. But Islam had a natural claim to his allegiance. Torn asunder by doubts and deep searchings of heart, he became a nonconformist, a victim of persecution by the orthodox sections of both the communities⁴. Mohsin Fani says, "....at the time when he was in search of a spiritual guide, he visited the best of the Musulmans and Hindus, but did not find what he sought, at last somebody gave him direction to an old man of bright genius, the Brahman Rāmānanda"⁵. Kabir himself acknowledges his debt to his Guru in the following words: "I....was awakened by Rāmānanda"⁶. He also refers to his association with Muslim saints at various places⁷. Like Guru

1 Macauliffe, Vol. VI, p. 105.

2 Vol. VI, p. 126.

3 Macauliffe, Vol. VI, p. 124.

4 Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 124-137.

5 *Dabistan*, trans. Troyer and Shea, Vol. I, p. 186.

6 *Bijak*, Ramaini, p. 77.

7 *Bijak*, Ramaini, p. 48. Kabir says that "for long he listened to Shaikh Taqi". One of the Muslims who approached Sikandar Lodi for punishing Kabir on the ground of heresy was Shaikh Taqi. (Macauliffe, Vol. VI, p. 132). Were these two persons identical?

Nanak, he seems to have been unfamiliar with learned languages and scriptures, although his association with saints of different schools familiarised him with technical philosophical terms, some of which he utilised in his verses. Like Guru Nanak, again, he eschewed asceticism and lived the unconventional life of a simple householder¹.

The strain of mysticism which is so remarkable a feature of Kabir's verses did not prevent him from becoming a practical reformer. He was the first leader of the medieval Reformation to make a conscious effort for Hindu-Muslim unity in the sphere of religion. He says, "The Hindu and Turk have one path which the True Teacher has pointed out....". Again: "....the religion of those who understand is one, whether they are *Pandits* or *Shaikhs*". He regrets: "Hindus call upon *Rāma*, the Musalmans on *Rahiman*, yet both fight and kill each other, and none knows the truth"². The charge preferred against him before the Sultan³ by the Muslims and Brahmins of Benares was that "those who paid heed to what he said, remained neither Hindus nor Musalmans". The charge was true, for we are told that after his death a quarrel arose between the Hindus and Muslims for the disposal of his body. He belonged to both the communities. His determination to die at Magahar in preference to Benares⁴ was a powerful blow against the rituals and conventions which guided the Hindus and Muslims of his age.

Rāmānanda and his followers, specially Kabir, seem to have exercised a profound influence on Sikhism. Only one hymn attributed to Rāmānanda has found place in the *Granth Sahib*⁵, but it has a typical affinity with the teachings of the Sikh Gurus. Among the non-Sikh *Bhagats* Kabir enjoys the place of honour in the *Granth Sahib*.

¹ In one respect there was an important difference between Kabir and the Sikh Gurus. While he held the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* and even extended it to flowers, they allowed, and even encouraged, the use of animal flesh as food. (Macauliffe, Vol. VI, p. 141).

² Quoted in Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 165.

³ For Sikandar Lodi's attempt to persecute Kabir, see Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 131-134.

⁴ According to the Hindus, death at Magahar entailed rebirth as an ass, whereas death at Benares conferred salvation.

⁵ Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 106.

A very large number of his verses has been included in that holy collection¹. Apart from Kabir, the hymns of some other disciples of Rāmānanda are represented in the *Granth Sahib*²: Dhana, Pipa, Sain, Ravi Das. These disciples of Rāmānanda spread his message throughout India. The careers of Kabir, Sain, and Ravi Das showed that religious instruction need not be the monopoly of the Brahmins, nor need spiritual uplift be dependent on the study of the *śāstras*. Caste lost its position as the sole criterion of human worth, and the human soul found itself endowed with a new-born value. Sikhism is obviously an offshoot of this remarkable change of outlook. The great compiler of the *Granth Sahib* recognised the debt of Sikhism to the Rāmānanda school by including so many hymns of that school in the holy book.

III

The great variety of the hymns collected in the *Granth Sahib* shows to what an extent Sikhism was in fruitful contact with the medieval Reformation in all its aspects. The *Bhagats* belong almost to all communities, castes and provinces. The general uniformity of their views on spiritual and social problems leaves no room for doubt that the basic principle of the Reformation was one, although personal factors, combined with the peculiarity of political forces and social phenomena in different parts of the country, sooner or later canalised it into different streams.

Nāmadev was the first Marathi exponent of the *Bhakti* cult. A large number of his hymns is found in the *Granth Sahib*³. The compositions of two other Marathi saints—Trilochan and Paramānanda—are represented in the Bible of Sikhism⁴. Guru Arjan selected some isolated hymns of other well-known *Bhagats*: Sādhana, an inhabitant of Sind, and Beni, about whom nothing is known⁵. The *Granth Sahib* gives us some hymns composed by two Muslim *Bhagats*—Shaikh Farid and Bhikan⁶. In placing devotion above community Guru Arjan followed the example of catholicity laid down by Guru Nanak.

¹ The English translation of these verses covers 175 pages of Macauliffe's book.

² Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 106-122, 316-342.

³ Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 42, 51, 54, 58.

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 76-84.

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 84-93.

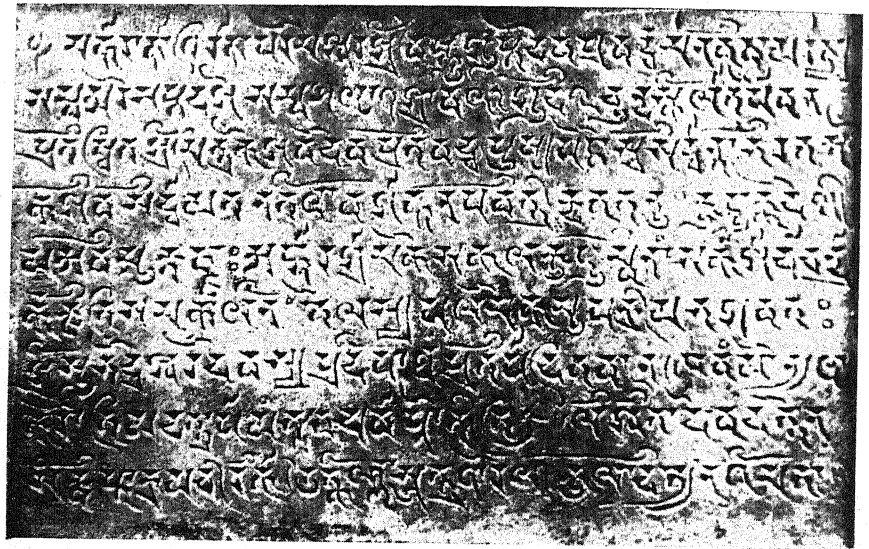
⁶ *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 394, 396, 414-416.

The present inscription is engraved on a piece of stone measuring about 1 ft. 3 inches by 9 inches. The stone was originally bigger than it is in its present size. Its owner chipped off its surrounding portions to make it portable. In doing so no damage has, however, been done to its written surface. The inscription consists of 9 lines covering a space of 11 inches by 6 inches. The letters are neat and finely executed and their size is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch by $\frac{1}{3}$ inch. The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in prose all through save and except the concluding portions which are in Anuṣṭubh metre, containing the name of the writer of the deed as well as that of the engraver.

The inscription is written in Northern script of about 700 A. D., the forms of the letters being definitely later than those of the copper plates of Harṣavardhana, but resembling closely those found in Nālandā stone inscription of Yośovarman (*Epigraphia Indica* Indica Vol. XX, P. 46). The vowel marks *a*, *i*, and *e* are represented by two kinds of symbols. The one is placed above the respective letter and the other beside it.

In respect of orthography we have to notice that the letters preceding the sub-script *ṛ* have sometimes been doubled; cf:—*Sṛimittira* in line 3, *attra* in line 7; but contrast *arka* in line 6, and *Pradipārthaṃ* in line 9 where the letters following the superscript *ṛ* have not undergone any duplication. The rules of sandhi have not been uniformly observed even in words combined in *samāśas* cf: *Svasiddhāntābhirata-aneka*. The same sign has been employed to denote *ḥ* and *v*. cf: *Kesavadeva-pratīva (ba)ddha* and *kutumvi(bi)nām* etc.

The inscription is dated in the 17th regnal year of the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Viṣṇugupta. This record is silent about the genealogy of Viṣṇugupta. Two Viṣṇuguptas are known to have ruled in eastern India, the first of them belonging to the late fifth or early sixth century A. D. (Nālandā Seal, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, Jan. 1942) and the other belonging to eighth century A. D., who was grandson of the famous Ādityasena of the Apṣhaḍ inscription and the son of Devagupta mentioned in the Deobarnak inscription of Jivitagupta II. The palaeography of the inscription would definitely show that it is the second Viṣṇugupta who is referred to



(a) An Inscription of Viṣṇugupta's time



(b) A Mathura Inscription of Devaputra Kaniska's time

in this inscription. A reference to the scripts of the Nālandā Seal having mid-Gupta forms of letters clearly show the wide gulf of time that elapsed between the first Viṣṇugupta referred to in the Nālandā Seal and the Viṣṇugupta of our inscription. There is one Viṣṇugupta known to us from Gupta coins*. The obverse of these coins contains the name Viṣṇu and the reverse legend is Candrāditya. This Viṣṇugupta with Candrāditya title cannot be identified with the Viṣṇugupta of our inscription, who is of the later Gupta dynasty. On the evidence of the palaeography of the coin legends which are written in early sixth century northern scripts he is to be identified with the ruler of the same name of the Nālandā seal the date of which has been discussed above.

I gratefully acknowledge here my debt to Mr. A. Ghosh., M., A., Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle, who has kindly corrected my reading of the inscription at some places and has also given me valuable suggestions in writing this article.

Text :—

L. 1. Om mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-V(i)ṣṇugupta-deva-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya.

L. 2. samvatsare² saptadase samvat³ 10 7 śrāvaṇa-sudi 2 Cunda-skilā-tapovana.

L. 3. pratiṣṭhita-śrī-Mitrakeśavadeva-pratīva(ba'ddha-puṣpa paṭṭe svasiddhāntābhirata-ane.

L. 4. ka-Śiva-siddhāyatana-tīrth=āvagāhana-pavitrikrita-tanuḥ Kuṭṭukka-deśī.

L. 5. ya-Avimuktajñāḥ Aṅgāra-grāmake sakala-kutumvi(bi)nām sakaśād=ā-candr=ā.

L. 6. rka-kṣiti-sama-kālinam tailasya palam=ekam=upakriya bhagavataḥ.

L. 7. śrī-Subhadreśvara-devasya pradīpārthaṁ pratipāditavān= Evaṁ yo=nyathā.

*Allan's Gupta coins, p. 145.

1 Expressed by a symbol.

2 Read *Samvatsare*.

3 Read *Samvat*.

L. 8. karoti yad=attr=^fāpāyan=tāvad=avāpnot=iti=Likhitā
Devadattena.

L. 9. saṃkṣiptā kraya-cīrakā-utkirṇṇā sūtradhāreṇa Kulādityena
dhimatā.

Translation :—On the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Srāvaṇa in the year 17 during the victorious reign of the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Viṣṇugupta, Avimukatajña of the Kuṭṭukka country who pursued his own faith and whose body was purified by holy bath in many places of pilgrimage with sacred temples of Śiva worship, having purchased a *pala* of oil which was to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth, from all the householders of the village Aṅgāra, presented it to the illustrious Lord Subhadreśvara, to be placed on the slab of flowers attached to [the temple of] the illustrious Mittra-keśava established in the hermitage at Cundaskilā. Misfortune will overtake one who acts to the contrary. The short cloth of the deed of purchase¹ was written on by Devadatta and was inscribed by the wise artisan Kulāditya.

¹ This is my translation of *kṛaya-cīrakā*. Cloth as a writing material was very common in ancient times, see Chapter VIII, para XXXVIIB, Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIII, 1904 ; Appendix.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

By PRIYATOSH BANERJEE

(A) Mathura Inscription of Devaputra Kanishka*

The year 14

This inscription was found in Dalpat-ki-khir-kī Mohalla at Mathura by R. B. Pandit Radha Krishna and was published by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp, 96 ff. with a photograph, in which it is seen engraved on the pedestal of a stone image, presumably of Buddha or Bodhisattva, only the two feet of the image being preserved. The inscribed pedestal without the fragments of the feet was acquired by the Patna Museum, where it is at present housed and bears the register number 6042.

According to Rai Bahadur Sahni the inscription is dated in the year 14 of the Mahārāja Devaputra Kanishka. He also pointed out that the letters of the inscription present more developed forms than we usually find in the records of the early Kushans and that some of the letters in fact, specially *m* and *h* are similar to those of the early Gupta script. It may further be observed that the letter *s* has sometimes the same looped form as is found in eastern Gupta records. On the palæographic grounds one feels tempted to attribute this record to a date somewhat nearer the beginning of the Gupta times than the usually accepted period of Kanishka I, whose known records definitely exhibit more archaic forms of letters.

Recently Mr. Baijnath Puri attempted to remove the apparent discrepancy between the palæographic features of the inscription and its date as read by its editor (R. B. Sahni) by asserting that the date should be read as 84 and not 14 and that it should be referred to the Kalacuri era.¹ The ruler referred to in the inscription is, according to him, Kanishka III of a latter Kushan dynasty².

* I am grateful to Mr. P. C. Manuk, President, Managing Committee, Patna Museum, for his kindly permitting me to study and write on this inscription.

¹ *Indian Culture*, Vol. VIII, p. 196.

² *Ibid.*

Mr. Puri had to depend on the published photograph of the inscription, as the original stone was not available to him. He observes that in the decimal figure of the date there are two knobs inter-locked together which indicate 8 and not 1 resembling the letter 8 of the Gupta period.¹ If one is to judge from the published photograph, these observations are correct. But it is worth noting that for some unknown reason the date portion in the photograph seems to have been retouched.

I have carefully studied the inscription from the original and am convinced that the first figure of the date is really 10 as read by the editor, as it agrees very closely with the symbol for 10 in Kushan and early Gupta times, and has practically no difference with the figure for 10 found in the same inscription a few letters ahead (*Pauṣa-māsa divase 10*). The date of the inscription is therefore really 14.

Let judgment regarding the identification of the Kanīṣka of this inscription, who on palaeographical grounds may possibly have to be regarded ultimately as one different from Kanīṣka I, and also of the era to which the date should be referred to, remain postponed until further light is thrown on the subject by some fresh discovery.

I reproduce in p. 1. I, Fig. b. an impression of the portion of the inscription in which the date is contained, so that scholars may review the whole position.

(B) The Patna Museum Brāhmī Inscription from Mathura, Patna Museum Arch No. 6043.

This inscription was published by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 441-46. He read it as follows :—

....mam (i) trasa putrasa raño Viṣṇumitrassa dhitu Īdragibhadāye dhātiye Gotamiye Mitrāye dānaṁ th [aṁ] bh [o].

He remarked that word the last th [aṁ] bh [o] is written in an ornamental fashion. An examination of the original stone, however, shows that there are no letters after *dānaṁ* and what has been read as th [aṁ] bh [o] is nothing but the well-known *nandipada* symbol.

Mr Majumdar gave the following translation of the inscription :
'Gift of a pillar by Gotamī Mitṛā, who is the mother of Indrāgnibhadra and daughter of Viṣṇumitra, son ofMitṛa.

¹ Evidently Mr. Puri means 80 and 10.

The translation is open to the following objections :—

(1) By taking Gotamīmitrā as the name of the donor, the sixth case—ending in *Gotamiye* is not explained. Evidently the words *Gotamiye Mitrāye* are to be taken as two separate words and are to be translated as ' of Mitrā, the Gotamī,' i. e. the Gautama gotra.

2. The words *Viṣṇumitrāsa dhītu* have been construed with *Gotamiye Mitrāye*, so that the lady donor becomes a princess. But her husband's name is not mentioned at all, though the name of her daughter is specified,—a queer way for a princess to introduce herself :

3. The word *dhātiye* has been translated ' of the mother,' though it should more appropriately mean 'of the foster-mother.

I therefore translate the inscription as follows :—

' The gift of Mitrā, the Gautamī (who was) the foster-mother of Indrāgnibhadrā, the daughter of King Viṣṇumitra, the son of..... ma Mitra.

According to this rendering the lady donor had no royal blood in her, but had a respectable position in the royal household by being the nurse of the princess Indrāgnibhadrā.

(C)—Identification of the name Agaraja

on

Kauśāmbī coins.

On pp. 37-38, Vol. IV, p. II of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* Dr. Altekar described two copper pieces of Kauśāmbī, belonging to the collection of Rai Bahadur Vyas. From the study of the symbols as well as from their findspot Dr. Altekar has associated them with the site of Kauśāmbī. The legend on their obverse is *Agarajasa* and on grounds of epigraphy they have been assigned to the 2nd century B. C.

The name Agaraja is perhaps the Prakrit form of either Aṅgarāja or Agrarāja. But no ruler of either of this name, observes Dr. Altekar, is known so far to us in history. He argues first the possibility of rendering Agaraja into Aṅgarāja and holds that a ruler of Aṅga country who was perhaps in temporary possession of Kauśāmbī, might have issued these coins with the legend Agarajasa, ' without caring to put his personal name.' on them. If a coin is of an independent ruler or monarch, it is usually the practice that it bears the name of the ruler by whom it is issued.

If the coins under discussion were issued by a ruler of Aṅga country it is difficult to understand why the said ruler did not put his own name on his issues. Dr. Altekar is right when he says that these coins cannot be called to be the issues of a king of Agras as they are hardly known to have any connection with Kausāmbī and it is not possible also to associate them with a ruler of the Agacha Janapada in the Punjab. So he remarks that we cannot be certain about the identity of this ruler until further archaeological or literary evidence comes to our help.

Now let us see if any ruler of similar name is known to us from any other source. In a votive label on a pillar of Eastern gate way of Bharhut the name of Āgaraju occurs.¹ He is described there as the son of King Gāgīputa Visadeva and father of Vāchīputa Dhanabhūti. That Āgaraju belonged to a royal line is evident from this inscription, though it is difficult to say where this line of rulers viz., Visadeva, Āgaraju and Dhanabhūti, reigned. The absence of any royal title before the names of Āgaraju and Dhanabhūti indicates that they had not yet become kings and that the donation was made by Dhanabhūti while his grandfather was ruling. There is little doubt that they succeeded to the throne in due course, for another Bharhut inscription² refers to a prince named Vadhapāla as the son of king (rajan) Dhanabhūti. They were contemporaries of the Śuṅgas and their tributary vassals according to some scholars. Āgaraju has been rendered into various Sanskrit forms by the scholars. R. L. Mitra and Cunningham have given its Sanskrit form as Agrarāja or Aṅgarāja while according to Bühler, Hultsch and Lüders the Sanskrit rendering of Āgaraju is Aṅgaradyut.

However, Agrarāja is the most plausible Sanskrit rendering of Āgaraju and it may be that this Āgaraju is identical with Agraraja of the present coins. The date of the coins is 2nd century B. C., and that of the Bharhut inscription also, which refers to the regnal period of the Śuṅgas or to the domain of the Śuṅgas, is 2nd century B. C.

1. Lüders, 687; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol X. Appendix.

2. Ibid 869.

Against this identification it may be argued that as the family of Āgaraju was a vassal one under the Śuṅgas, there was no occasion for him to issue coins. It may be pointed out however, that the Bharhut inscription only indicates that the Bharhut area (not very far from Vidisa region) was in the dominion of the Śuṅgas, and does not necessarily prove their overlordship over this family, which may have reigned at Kauśāmbī, and who could make gifts at Bharhut, a Śuṅga town in the same way as Meghavarmā of Ceylon could make gifts at Gaya. About the extent of the Śuṅga empire our knowledge is very limited indeed; probably the Śuṅgas ruled more towards central India and Malwa than in Magadha and Antardvī. And even if the area over which the family of Āgaraju ruled was included in the Śuṅga empire, the imperial hold must have been very feeble indeed and did not prevent the semi independent feudatories from issuing coins in their own names.

Reviews and Notices of Books.

THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF INDIA *by* Anil Chandra Banerjee, M. A., Premchand Roychand Scholar. (A. Mukharjee and Bros. 2, College, Square, Calcutta.)

Prof. Banerjee has in this work given an exhaustive account of British relations with, and British policy towards, Assam, Burma, Arakan and Tenasserim during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first third of the nineteenth century. The story of Assam, and of its conquest and annexation in 1826, has necessarily led him to tell about Cachar, Jaintia and Manipur regions, the strategic and political importance of which was perhaps never before so great in the history of modern times as at the present day. The book is by far the best and most up-to-date work on the subject. The author has plodded through a vast mass of unpublished documents to collect useful information for his purpose, and has done all that could be done not only to fill up the many gaps in the history of Anglo-Burmese and Anglo-Assamese relations, but also to bring to light the subtle complications in the East India Company's policy towards these eastern states. There is much in this bold narrative of events that will serve as a reliable guide to any one who wishes to explore the wild inhospitable tracts on the north-east corner of India. The accounts of the commercial missions to the court of Ava and the analysis of Lord Wellesley's vigilant policy towards Burma, which by the way tells us how the many-sided genius of the Governor-General did not let him rest content with the north-west frontier only, are especially interesting. The continual influx of the Mugs or Arakanis into Chittagong and the neighbouring districts of Bengal and its repercussions on Anglo-Burmese relations have also been dealt with. Finally, the story has been told of how the British power snatched a victory out of the hands of the Burmans, and succeeded in imposing a treaty on the Burma court which brought long-desired political and commercial concessions to the East India Company.

The style of the book is simple, the presentation vigorous, and the comments critical and consistent. We do hope it will have its due worth in the hands of scholars and researchers in modern history.

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Leading Articles

EARLY STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MADRAS JUDICIARY.

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I.

A Survey of the Earliest Madras Courts till the Charter of 1726.

George Foxcroft, who was the first Agent of the Madras Presidency to be styled the Governor of Fort St. George, and a Cromwellian Puritan, was imprisoned (Sept. 1665) by his forceful Royalist Predecessor, Sir Edward Winter, on an alleged charge of treasonable words uttered towards His Majesty Charles II, even in the very year of his accession, was later released and reinstated in office by Royal Commissioners who arrived towards the end of May 1768 and took possession of Fort St. George from Winter. This extraordinary episode was the result of imprudent language used by the Puritan-minded Foxcroft and the intemperate zeal of Winter who was an ultra Royalist and a man of considerable strength of will. After his restoration, Foxcroft ruled till 1672. Prior to his Governorship, justice was administered to the Indian inhabitants of the Presidency by a European servant of the Company who functioned at the Choultry. Winter had replaced the European Magistrate by two Indians who

were empowered to rule the Indian town. Foxcroft restored the European Judge to the Choultry Court as soon as he came to power.

Very few know that the grant of the title of Governor to the Agent of Madras was due to a murder case. In 1665 a slave girl suffered a violent death at the hands of her European mistress, who was thereupon accused of a capital crime. Being uncertain of their powers as to the cognisance of the crime, the Agent and Council asked for instructions from England. In their letter of 7th March 1666, the Company replied that, very soon, advice and orders would be issued as to how to proceed with the accused and others that might have been accessory to the crime, and also "how to prosecute such persons in the future that shall commit the like horrid Actions within the Lymitts of our Fort and Towne of Madras". In their next letter, the Company resolved that under the authority given by the Charter of Charles II of 3rd April 1661, the [Agent at] Fort St. George should be created Governor with judicial power to try this case and similar ones that might occur hereafter. The Directors held that the Governors and Councils of their Indian and Eastern Presidencies had the power to execute judgment in all cases, civil and criminal. But they thought the Charter of 1661* which gave such power required elucidation and resolved to address His Majesty for his special direction. This despatch was received during the time of Winter's usurpation, but the case of the accused (Mrs. Dawes) was not actually tried until Foxcroft had been reinstated.

This murder case is historically the first instance in which trial by jury was made use of at Madras. The indictment of Mrs. Dawes was made according to the legally prescribed form. Twenty-four persons were summoned for the Grand jury and they returned the indictment as a true bill, whereupon 36 persons were summoned for selection from amongst themselves of a jury for the trial. The accused was told that she might take exception against the petty jury without showing any cause. She excepted three only. After twelve jurors

* Even in February 1651, the Company presented a petition to the Council of State in England, praying that as they had long been without proper authority to enforce obedience in the English subjects within their limits, powers might be given under the Great Seal to them and to their Presidents and Councils in India to enforce obedience on all Englishmen in their limits according to English law. See *Charters relating to the East India Company, 1600-1761* by J. Shaw, (1887)

were sworn in (six Englishmen and six Portuguese) the indictment was read again. The witnesses were examined before the trying jury; and the latter, after deliberating apart, found the accused guilty of the murder, "but not in manner and forme, and therefore desired directions from the Court." They were thereupon asked to bring "a verdict of guilty or not guilty without exception or limitation." They persisted in maintaining the verdict not guilty; and not only the foreman but the whole jury who were asked to give their opinion individually, persisted in their stand. Thereupon the accused was acquitted.

The Council wrote to the Company that they were at a loss in several things for want of instructions, "as.....whether anything more had been to be said to the jury when they brought in such an unexpected verdict." They pleaded that in the circumstances they acted according to the best of their judgment and requested the assistance of a person better skilled than themselves in law and its formalities. (*Vide* O. C. of 15th April 1669, No. 3171.)

The ordinary administration of justice that prevailed in the settlement is very clouded, so far as its legal basis was concerned. As among themselves, the English residents at a Factory had justice administered to them in criminal cases by virtue of a King's Commission under the Great Seal which empowered the Commissioners to punish and execute offenders by Martial Law. This practice is well illustrated from a Surat Record of February 1616, which notes the condemnation of one Lellington to death for the offence of man-slaughter. In all civil cases the President or Chief of the Factory had more or less complete powers.

The Governor or Agent was the First Member of the Council. The other members were the Book-Keeper, the Ware-house Keeper and the Customer. The last also exercised magisterial functions over the Indian population. He administered justice as Magistrate and sat alone in the Black (or Native) Town, distinct from the White Town in the Fort, to try cases concerning natives exclusively. As noted above, Europeans were tried by the Governor in Council in the Fort with a jury.

After Foxcroft, Sir William Langhorne ruled as Governor for six years. The next Governor, Streygham Master (1678-81) was an old servant of the Company and began his rule by framing regulations

for securing proper administration of justice and for ensuring the sober conduct of the civil servants. His *Diaries* (edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple in the Indian Records Series) give plenty of information regarding the condition and administration of the Company's Factories in the Coromandel Coast and in the Bay of Bengal. Master drew an indictment against his predecessor, Langhorne, under the title of "the Character of the Government at Fort St. George from 1672-1677" in which he complained, among other things, about the neglect and miscarriage of the Choultry Administration of Justice.*

Governor Master reorganised the Choultry Court, which had been long held at the Choultry, or Town House, where justice was hitherto administered to the Indian inhabitants by persons, either Indians or Europeans, appointed by the Governor. He also increased the number of the Choultry Justices to three, of whom two at least were to sit for the trial of causes and the registration of bills of sale of land and other property. They should sit twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays, in the Choultry situated at one of the Gates of the Fort leading to the Black Town, to do the common justice of the town as usual and take care that "the Scrivener of the Choultry duly registered all sentences in Portuguese and that an exact register was kept of all alienations or sales of slaves, houses, gardens, boats, ships, etc., the Company's dues for the same to be received by the customs.... The Purser-General or Pay-master to take charge of the concerns of deceased men and to keep a book for registering wills and testaments and inventories of deceased persons and also to keep a register of births, christenings, marriages, burials of all English men and women with the town."†

He also established a Superior Court for the trial by jury of civil and criminal offences by virtue of the powers granted by the Charter of 1661. According to him the Governor and Council were to sit in the chapel in the Fort every Wednesday and Saturday for the trial of causes according to English laws. The Choultry Justices and the officers under them were to execute all orders, writs, and summonses for the returning of juries, execution of judgment, apprehension of criminals etc. The court was to have the assistance of a clerk, an officer and a

* See *Diaries of Streyntsham Master*, Vol. I. Introduction, pp. 64-66.

† *Shaw-Charters, relating to the East Indian Company* p. VII; also H. D. Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, pp. 404-406.

marshall.* This court was not intended to supersede the justices of the Choultry, who were to continue to decide all small misdemeanours, breaches of the peace and civil actions for debt not exceeding 50 pagodas. The decision to constitute this court of judicature was due in part to the difficulty experienced in dealing with criminal matters. This court was superseded in 1684 by an Admiralty Court presided over by a Judge-Advocate appointed from England.

The Superior Court of Judicature was constituted by a Consultation of the Madras Council, dated 18th March 1678, by virtue of power granted by the Company under the Royal Charter of 1661 and of a Commission from the Governor and Directors issued under their seal, to Master dated the 16th day of December 1675. The Superior Court was to have power to judge all persons belonging to or living under the Governor and Company, in all causes, civil or criminal, according to the Laws of England and to execute judgment accordingly. By the provisions of the above Consultation the Justices of the Choultry and the Constable under them were to execute all orders, writs and summonses from the Governor and Council for returning of juries, execution after judgment, apprehension of criminals and like matters. All trials in the court were to be by juries of twelve men who were to be returned by the Justice or Justices of the Choultry. There was to be a Clerk of the Court who was also to be the Clerk of the Peace. The Marshal was to take charge of the prisoners and as officer of the Court, was to assist the Justices.

On the 10th of April 1678 was held the first trial in this Court of Judicature by means of a jury. Two murder cases had long been pending disposal. One of these, was the case against William Gilbert for murder of one Johan Hartley. Gilbert had been committed to prison and had continued there for thirty-one months; he had petitioned that this continued detention was contrary to the Laws of England where "no Prisoner for any act (unless in case of Treason), is detained more then six months before he receives a legal Trial." The Jury brought in a verdict, not guilty, according to the indictment. But they brought in the verdict, guilty of man-slaughter, *se defendendo*. Gilbert desired to abide by the verdict and was sentenced to forfeit his goods and chattels to the King; but as he had none,

* Public Consultations, 18th March 1678

he could not be punished in any manner in body or chattels. In another suit, on a charge of man-slaughter, the demand of the accused for getting the Benefit of Clergy (which was allowed to all laymen of education and which meant that if the accused passed the test of reading Latin, he was branded on the hand with a hot iron in order that by this brand he might be identified to prevent his claiming the privilege for a second time) was allowed.

Master followed in framing his judicial regulations, as far as possible, the arrangements subsisting in Bombay; and the above-noted Consultation of 18th March referred to the Bombay Court of Judicature as the model followed. The Madras Court of Judicature continued to function till the 10th July 1686, when a Court of Admiralty superseded it. There was, however, a temporary suspension of the functions of the Court for a few months in the first half of 1684, because the Council received a despatch from the Company intimating to them the starting of a Court of Admiralty at Madras. The Council, however, revived their previous court, pending the inauguration of the new Court. By a Charter of 1683 (one of the four Charters granted to the Company in that year), dated 9th August, the Company was allowed to seize all unlicensed ships and goods, one-half of all the forfeitures on which was to go to the Crown, and the other to the Company. This Charter also gave the Company full power to make war and peace with the native powers and to raise such military forces as might be necessary and also exercise Martial Law, for the defence of their forts and plantations. The Charter further empowered Courts of Judicature to be erected in the Company's settlements as the latter should think fit. The Court should consist of one person learned in the civil laws and of two merchants to be nominated by the Governor or Deputy Governor; and it was to have the power to decide all cases of forfeitures and seizures of ships, goods and merchandise, trading contrary to the Company's privileges. It was also to have cognisance of all mercantile and maritime cases, as well as crimes and felonies committed upon the high seas. The procedure of the Court was to be according to rules of equity and good conscience and also to conform to the laws and customs of merchants.

Under this Charter, the Directors wrote to their Council at Fort St. George, on the 14th of August 1683, appointing their Governor to be the Judge-Advocate at that place to function as such, pend-

ing the arrival of a duly appointed Judge-Advocate. The Madras Council decided that as they did not receive any directions for the proceedings in the new Court and as they were unacquainted with the methods thereof, "the old Court of Judicature should be again revived and causes should be decided therein by jurors as formerly by virtue of the authority of the first Charter till the Judge-Advocate shall arrive or we prohibited further therein."* Thus the old Court of Judicature continued till it was superseded by the Court of Admiralty in 1686. The Judge of the new Court and his two assistants were all of them to be Civil Servants and Members of the Council; and a Factor was appointed Attorney-General for the new court. But the Justices of the Peace were not interfered with and they were to continue to sit as well at the Choultry as at other times and places, for the better satisfaction of the demands of litigation. These Justices of the Peace were three in number, and were Junior Members of the Council. In the next year a Judge-Advocate was appointed from England in the person of Sir John Biggs. He sat as the Third in the Council; and his first duty was to preside at the quarter sessions. Biggs was desired to make himself generally useful in other work and soon after he joined duty was entrusted with the task of receiving the revenues of the city. He was always to preside at the Quarter Sessions and also at Courts Martial for the trial of pirates, whenever the Governor should be too busy to undertake that task.

Criminals were transported to Sumatra where they were to remain for life as slaves of the Company and from which Island they were not to return upon pain of death. Pirates condemned at Courts Martial were either executed or branded.

Sir John Biggs died in April 1689. When the Mayor and Corporation were inaugurated in September 1688, he became associated with them as the Recorder of the Corporation and as the assistant to the Mayor in judicial work concerning all causes of considerable value or intricacy. The Company's Charter authorising the starting of the Corporation, styled him "Judge of Our Supreme Court of Judicature commonly called our Court of Admiralty" and empowered appeals to be made from the Mayor's Court to that tribunal. Thus the Charter of the Corporation took away all ordinary judicial powers from the Governor and Council, except the power to reprieve condemned men and to

*Madras Council Consultation of 7th July 1684.

grant pardons in criminal cases. They also occasionally sat for the trial of exceptionally serious cases like murder or piracy committed by Englishmen on the high seas.

Though Sir John Biggs worked in Madras barely for less than two years, the Madras Government was fortunate in securing his services; he was an able and independent judge, while the Directors had reposed exceptional confidence in him. This was in marked contrast to the attitude of Dr. St. John who was appointed Judge of the Admiralty Court in Bombay. St. John took up a supercilious attitude from the very first, and the Directors had correctly sized him before they sent him to Bombay by ordering that he should not be put in charge of the Court of Judicature, until his good deportment should have been observed and reported upon. But he soon arrogated to himself the status and title of Chief Justice, though the Directors had definitely ordered that the Courts in Bombay were to remain in the same condition and under the same management as before. There was not prevalent in Madras that degree of interloping that gave rise to the atmosphere of intense suspicion and animosity that existed in Bombay. Moreover, St. John was a *protege* of Lord Rochester, a brother-in-law of the Duke of York and had been recommended for the post by the Secretary of State, Sir Leoline Jenkins, whereas Biggs was personally known to Sir Josiah Child, the masterful Governor of the Company, and had gained his confidence; and Child was then the most influential personality in the activities of the Company.

James II delegated to the East India Company the power of establishing by their own charter a municipality at Madras; and this Charter was issued by the Company under their own seal by virtue of the authority of the charters of 1661 and 1683 of Charles II, and that of 1686 of James II. According to the Company's Charter, a Municipality and Mayor's Court were established at Madras. The Municipality was to consist of a Mayor, 12 Aldermen and 60 or more Burgesses. The Mayor was to hold office for a year, the Aldermen were to enjoy their dignity and office for their lives or during their residence in Madras. The Charter further nominated 29 Free Merchants as Burgesses. The new Mayor was to be elected from the Aldermen, every year; vacancies among the Aldermen were

to be filled up by election from among the Burgesses; and three of them were always to be Covenanted Servants of the Company.

The Municipality and the Mayor's Court were created by the Company's Charter, because, as the Governor of the Court of Directors observed, "the wind of the extraordinary honour in their heads would probably render them so haughty and over-bearing that the Company would be forced to remove them." He had evidently in mind the recent differences between Sir John Child, the Governor of Bombay and Dr. St. John, who had been appointed Judge of the Court at Surat by Royal Commission from the Company; and he was "alive to the dangers arising from an independent judiciary which in the next century were to bring about the conflicts between Warren Hastings and the Calcutta Supreme Court."

Sir John Biggs was not only Judge of the Court of Admiralty, but also Recorder of the Mayor's Court, which was thus constituted in 1688. On the death of Biggs, the Governor and Council directed the Mayor's Court to elect a Recorder to function until a lawyer could be sent out from England. The Mayor's Court was to have a Recorder, who should be an English-born Covenanted Servant of the Company. The Mayor and Aldermen were to be a Court of Record for the Town of Madraspatam. The Mayor and the three Senior Aldermen were to be also Justices of the Peace. The Mayor's Court could try all causes, civil and criminal; and there was to be an appeal from it in civil cases when the value of the award exceeded 3 pagodas and in criminal cases when the offender was sentenced to lose life or limb. It could also inflict fines, corporal punishment and imprisonment. Mr. Nathaniel Higginson, a future Governor, was the first Mayor. He was succeeded by Mr. Littleton in the post.

When Sir John Biggs died in 1689, the Court of Admiralty which was called Supreme Court was declared to have become extinct. According to the Charter that created the Mayor's Court, there was to be a right of appeal from that Court to the Court of Admiralty. Now the Mayor's Court declared that, in its opinion, its own decisions were final. The Mayor and some of the Aldermen were Members of the Council also and they quarrelled over this matter in the Council with Governor Yale. On two occasions the Governor had to release native debtors from prison, to which they had been committed, whereupon the Mayor and the Alderman sent a

remonstrance to him saying that the Governor was resolved to set the military in opposition to the civil and also threatened him with the consequence of forcing men from the hands of justice and of threatening the gaoler with corporal punishment for refusing to set at liberty the prisoner Kalavai Chetty, who had been legally committed for his contempt of the authority of the Court. The Governor replied that, according to a Company's order, debtors who could show that they were worth less than 12 pagodas should be released from prison and consequently he had released one Vassalinga who had been confined for debt for nearly 12 months and was very sick. With regard to Kalavai Chetty, the Governor justified his action by pleading that the imprisoned man was an eminent merchant and hundreds of his castemen and relations had represented to him that the prisoner had not eaten anything for two days and that he was in confinement merely for refusing to sign an arbitration paper on an old dispute in which he was voluntarily employed as an arbitrator; that he had taken security of two (able) merchants at 100 pagodas for the return of Kalavai Chetty to gaol after performing ceremonies and eating his dinner and wrote an order to the gaoler to permit his going to his house, and not let him starve in prison. The next day, an officer of the Mayor's Court visited him in prison and threatened him that by the Mayor's order that he should either sign the arbitration paper or continue and starve in prison; and this threat frightened the sick man into compliance with the demand in order to save his life and get his freedom. News of this severity shown to Kalavai Chetty spread quickly among the people of the city and thousands of them came to the Governor with a petition, by which, as he sarcastically remarked to the Mayor, "you may Judge of the Satisfaction and encouragement your proceedings give the Inhabitants, in so much that, if these oppressions are not redressed, we are likely to lose a great part of the towns people....and so I leave the Honourable Company's Motto for your consideration and practice, *viz.* non minusest virtus quam quaerere parta Tueri...." Yale also warned the Mayor's Court against any attempt on their part to appoint Justices of the Choultry which he said was the function of the Government.

The Mayor's Court was at first to be held only once in a fortnight; and two of the Aldermen who were Justices of the Peace, were

to sit twice a week at the Choultry to deal with "small offences and complaints to the amount of two pagodas fine or award." William Fraser, the Mayor, who opposed Governor Yale led the opposition to the Governor in the Council, where he was usually supported by Wavell, Gray and Cheney. When Fraser became Mayor and Gray an Alderman, the above-mentioned bitter quarrels arose between the Governor and the Mayor's Court. Yale applied to the Directors to send a responsible person to settle all matters at issue. The Company sent out Sir John Goldsborough (who was knighted before he embarked for India) and at the same time commissioned Mr. Higginson to succeed Yale as Governor. There were rumours of Yale having been implicated in the measures that led to the deaths of Wavell, Cheney and Gray in the course of 1691-92.

Owing to the limitation of the powers of the Mayor's Court by Charter and to the fact that the President and Council were without any authority to hear appeals, Government resolved, in 1690, to erect a Court of Judicature consisting of a Judge-Advocate and four Judges. The Governor himself acted as Judge-Advocate until a proper incumbent should be sent from England. Two of the Members of the Council were to be the Judges of the Court. The other two Judges were to be taken from the Armenian and Gentoo (Hindu) communities of the Presidency. "Senor Gregorio Paroan, a knowing judicious Armenian Merchant, be also a Justice of this Court to enquire into causes that happen from his own Nation and all other foreigners, he being well versed in their languages and Customes; and that Allingall Pilla, the Hon'ble Company's Chief Merchant, a wise and able Jentue, to be another Justice of this Court to appear for the Natives, as well Jentues, (Telugus, hae (*sic*)) Moores and Mallabars (Tamils)". There was also to be an Attorney-General for this Court which lasted on till 1692 when the Company sent out a new Judge-Advocate. The Choultry Justices continued to function all this time as Magistrates and the Seniormost among them was called Chief Justice. When the Mayor's Court was established, the Aldermen of the Corporation sat as Magistrates of the Choultry and continued to do so "until through the suspension of the Court of Admiralty their duties at the Mayor's Court became so arduous that special Choultry Justices were once more nominated."

Even after Elihu Yale ceased to be the Governor (1692), he continued

to reside in Madras for nearly seven years afterwards. Shortly after his retirement from the Governorship, he wrote a letter to Higginson, his successor-in-office and to Mr. William Fraser who was Judge-Advocate and Mayor, asking that justice be done as to the deaths of Wavell and Cheney and requesting that the matter might be strictly examined into and reported for the satisfaction of justice to their relations. The complaint was brought by Thomas Gray in a letter written to his father. He contended that (*sic*) himself was guilty of the black censure that he had attempted to throw upon himself and that John Cheney who was the Choultry Justice examined some low caste servants whom he had concealed in his house and who were forced out by him, examined and found guilty of wicked designs against himself and consequently punished.

In 1697 Yale submitted a petition to the King-in-Council, in which he complained that his accusers were also his judges, that legal advice was denied to him, that his witnesses were arrested and confined and trial by jury was refused to him. He added that he had been imprisoned in the Fort since November 1692 and he had been attempted to be poisoned. Higginson explained that when Yale made the complaint, he himself made the suggestion that the questions at issue between himself and the Council should be decided by the Court of Judicature rather than by Sir John Goldsborough appointed as arbitrator, in the matter of the ex-Governor's transactions with the Company's Merchants. Under instructions from the Company, the Court which was to try the case was to consist of Mr. Dolben, Judge-Advocate, as Judge and two assessors appointed from a by list of persons proposed by them (*sic*) of whom only three were alive at the time of the petition, *viz.*, Fraser, who was Yale's enemy, Wheeler and Hatsell. Yale objected to the first two; but eventually Wheeler and Hatsell were appointed assessors and when Wheeler died, Fraser had to take his place. Higginson declared that Yale was denied no legal assistance except that of Mr. John Coventry, an Attorney, who had been removed from the rolls from mal-practice. He continued: "We have no professed Councillors at Law or Attorney at Madrasse(?), nor doe (?) we need them in cases relating to the Custom of Merchants, where every man has liberty to plead his own case, and therefore Mr. Yale could not want the ablest Council and Attorney, *viz* (*sic*) himself..

Mr. Yale's person was never imprisoned one minute, nor was ever denied (?) liberty of goeing (?) home."

As to the alleged attempt on Yale's life, Higginson observed that the story was merely a concocted attempt as a counterblast to the rumours connecting the ex-President with the death of certain members of his Council, "concerning which we don't accuse him, being compelled by the rules of Christian charity to suspend a Censure, the most material evidence being dead; but if they had been liveing (?) to declare, themselves, what others have since their Death declared as from them, some of Mr. Yale's aforementioned Instruments must have been prosecuted, and he would have been put had to it to clear his own reputation."

The main reason why the Mayor's Court at Madras was started so soon after the Court of Admiralty or Supreme Court of Judicature and why the Mayor and Corporation should have been established on a purely western model with all the paraphernalia of an English municipality of the seventeenth century may be stated. It was that Sir Josiah Child wanted to set up a Corporation of "the natives mixed with some English Freemen, and to give it small privileges and powers so that Aldermen and Burgesses who would include among them the leaders of the different castes and communities might persuade the inhabitants to accept the imposition of a house tax." Therefore the Charter provided that while the Mayor and the three Senior Aldermen should always be convenanted British servants of the Company, the remaining nine Aldermen could belong to any nationality and among the first set of Aldermen nominated by the Company, one Frenchman, two Portuguese, three Hindus or Jentoos and three Jew or Armenian merchants were included*.

*"The Twelve First and Modern Aldermen were, besides the Mayor. Higginson, Second in the Council, Littleton, Wavell and Fraser, three other Members of the Council, Daniel Chardin, French merchant and brother of the famous traveller Sir John Chardin, Lewis de Oliveria and de Valle, Portuguese merchants, Rodrigues, Paiva, de Porte, Hebrew merchants, Chinna Venkatadri, Muthu Veeranna and Allingal Pillai, Gentoo merchants. The Charter also nominated 29 Free Merchants as Burgesses among whom we find no names of Indians or even a Jew etc. The Burgesses were not to exceed 120 in number and were 'to be elected by the Mayor and Aldermen. Any vacancy among the Aldermen was to be filled by election from the Burgesses, except that three Aldermen should always be convenanted servants of the Company.' The Mayor was to be elected annually on the 29th of September from the Aldermen. The three Senior Aldermen were always to be Justices of Peace. 30 Burgesses were

The question of the Charter for creating the Corporation was discussed at a Cabinet held in London on the 11th December 1687, whether this Charter should not proceed from the King under the Great Seal of England. But the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Company who were in attendance, urged that no person in India should be employed by immediate commission from the King, because "the wind of extraordinary honour in their heads to probably make them so haughty and over-bearing that the Company would be forced to remove them, as had happened in the case of Dr. St. John and Sir John Child." The King therefore thought it best that the Charter should go under the Company's Seal, because the Corporation must be always in some measure subject to the control of the President and Council of the Settlement.

In their general letter to Madras of the 22nd January 1692, the Court expressed their opinion that too many Englishmen had been admitted to the office of Aldermen and therefore they recommended that, in future, the Aldermen should be from different communities ; *viz.*, one Armenian, one or two Hebrews, one or two Portuguese, one or two Gentoos and one Moor or one Mussulman. But it was soon discovered that their recommendation could not be acted upon, because the Armenians who were appointed Aldermen refused to accept office, the Portuguese were unwilling to become Aldermen for fear of their countrymen living at San Thome and the Hebrew merchants qualified for the office had left Madras, while it was not safe to confide in the Moors.*

The Mayor's Court was thus merely a Company's Court until it was superseded in 1727 by the one established under Royal Charter.

to be the heads of all the castes, so that all the Gentoo (Hindu) inhabitants might contribute cheerfully to the public works that were contemplated for the provision of civic amenities like a school, hospital etc. The Freemen of the Corporation should enjoy the free exercise of the respective religions within the precincts of the Corporation and the same privileges of trade which natural-born Englishmen may lawfully claim. The Mayor and Aldermen might create any number of Freemen, but such should have no vote or suffrage in the election of the officers of the Corporation, but only the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses should choose the officer or officers."

* See Madras Council Consultation of Wednesday 26th March 1690, wherein we read that "there being several of the Aldermen's places vacant in the Corporation, it is agreed that Senor Alvaro de Fonseca be elected in the room of Senor Domingo de Porto deceased, and in the room of the Portuguese that have refused standing, they make choice of the ablest Armenians they can get in the city, and Timmappa in the place of Chinna Vencatadry deceased." In the Charter it was also provided that if any amendments were necessary this would have to be done by a supplementary charter.

There was a great deal of uncertainty as to the power of the Mayor's Court to inflict capital punishments. In a case of mutiny at sea, Governor Harrison (1711-17) and his Council decided that the Mayor's Court could, under the Charter, sentence criminals to execution by a majority of votes. This was in 1712. Governor Collet did not think that there was any power of the Council to inflict capital punishment upon Englishmen. In June 1718 when the Council tried the mate of a ship lying in the Madras roads for the offence of murdering a Christian lascar, the President gave his opinion that, though the Council was unanimously agreed as to the guilt of the accused, "as he had not yet received any Commission for trying any persons accused of Murther (?), Piracy or Robberty (?) on the High Seas, he did not conceive himself empowered to give judgment of death upon an Englishman, neither did he think the Charter of the Corporation sufficient to warrant judgment of death on any English subject. He therefore proposed that the Prisoner be kept in Irons in the Cockhouse upon Rice and water till we can advise our Hon'ble Masters of the Particulars, and receive their orders how to proceed." The power to condemn native criminals to death was, however, held to exist under the Charter. In the same month, *i. e.*, June 1718, the Mayor was empowered to try three men for murder and to execute them if they should be found guilty.

The Choultry Justices were to see to the execution of sentences imposed by this court. In 1719 St. Helena was substituted for Sumatra as a penal settlement and it was ordered that all the Hindus and Adi Dravidas that should be convicted should be sent as slaves to St. Helena. Cases of perjury in the Mayor's Court were to be punished with the loss of the ears of the accused and with whipping out of bounds. According to a Consultation of 27th January 1724, it was notified that "whoever should be convicted of perjury should lose his ears, stand in the pillory and be whipped out of bounds which is the same punishment that was formerly inflicted for this crime but has not been for many years put in practice."

Illustrative of the procedure in the Mayor's Court is the interesting case of Mr. Richard Horden which occurred in 1721-22. The narrative is as follows:—Early in February 1722, Governor Elwick brought to the notice of his Council the existence of a paper supposed to have been drawn up by one Draper who was Secretary to the

Council and at his instigation signed by Francis Hastings, his predecessor-in-office (who had a serious difference with Elwick) and who was then Senior Member of the Council, and recommended the latter's dismissal (?) on account of his insolent behaviour at the Board and his incapacity and negligence. The Council thereupon suspended Elwick and reported the matter to England (August 1720). Letters were received from the Directors, on the 15th October 1721, addressed to the Hon'ble Nathaniel Elwick, President and Governor, in which it was intimated that they had resolved to dismiss Francis Hastings, Horden and Cooke, and constitute Elwick, President in Hastings' place. Hastings had been ill since the beginning of October and had obtained permission to reside at the Company's Garden House till such time when he would be able to sail for England. The cash chest of Government which was in his charge contained one fanam instead of 72,000 and odd pagodas which was the balance according to his account while the Warehouse which was in Cooke's charge was deficient of 29 chests of silver. Hastings accepted full responsibility for the missing cash and silver, and both he and Cooke were thereupon placed under arrest and kept under close guard. In a few days Hastings refunded the amount due in cash and in legal security on the guarantee of his interest in 18 ships and in diamonds and the guards were withdrawn. He was then permitted to reside in the house of Horden, but died on the 11th of December. His will provided for a bequest of 5,000 pagodas to Joshua Draper; and the executors named in it were Draper and the Rev. Thomas Wendey.

To revert to the paper which Elwick brought to the notice of the Council: It was a letter alleged to have been signed by Hastings urging upon his brother and executors the prosecution of Governor Elwick and Mayor Oadham as accessory to the death of Hastings brought about by arrest and imprisonment. Cooke stated that the paper was signed by Hastings when he was very ill. Wendy, Horden and others deposed that Hastings, at the time of his signing it, could not have appreciated its meaning. Horden who had been dismissed by the Directors, complained of severe ill-treatment by the Mayor's Court, because the Mayor refused to register the bill of sale of his houses on the ground that he was attempting to cheat his creditors and declared the false sale to be a felony and capital offence. He said as to his impri-

sonment by the Mayor's warrant that he was forcibly taken by a Sergeant, carried to the Town Hall and delivered to the common gaoler and forced into a small prison and lock. The Mayor subsequently permitted him to go to his house where the gaoler was to sleep in the night and two black servants were to watch his movements by the day. He was not permitted to go to St. Thomas' Mount to recover his health, till his wife and a relation of hers gave a bond for his personal appearance. He was again committed to the charge of the gaoler and all his estates were ordered to be sold. The Governor informed him that he must comply with the Mayor's direction. The Governor also informed him that he must go to the Mayor who told him that he should comply with the judgments of the Mayor's Court; otherwise he should not go. Horden complained that though the Governor permitted him to embark after four days, the commander of the ship by which he wanted to sail would not receive him without the permission of the Governor.

The Corporation were very jealous of any interference by the Governor and Council in their proceedings. When, on the 28th of September 1721, the President directed the method of open polling for the election of the new Mayor and Alderman, Mr. Benyon, a member of Council and a future Governor, dissented in the Council, alleging that it would influence the election. He made the following speech to the Burgesses, protesting against the method proposed by the Governor :

"Whereas it does not appear by the Charter that the President and Council of Fort St. George have power of Liberty to alter any of the Customs of this Court or Corporation in their method of Elections, and the method of Polling being contrary to all usage and Custom since the grant of the Charter, which Custom and usage I am of opinion is a Law of prescription which to break into may be attended with many ill-consequences; and as I think it also a breach and violation of my oath to introduce any innovations, I therefore am of opinion the said order cannot be comply'd with by me while I am under the tye (?) of my present oath. All which circumstances being consider'd, and because I would not act contrary to any order of Government, I have no method left but to deliver up the Charter".

Mr. Horden protested that when Benyon offered to deliver up the Charter in the Town Hall after his speech, he refused to accept it, but

said he would go to the Fort and receive the Charter from him there, provided that he would guarantee for himself and the whole bench of Aldermen that the Court should not be adjourned till another Mayor was appointed in his place. Then he produced the following order from the Governor and Council: "By virtue of the power derived to us from the Hon'ble Company in your Charter, we do hereby constitute and appoint Mr. Joshua Draper to be Mayor of the Corporation in as full and ample manner as if he had been elected by the Choice of Burgesses". This order was signed by the Governor and three of his Council. When Draper took the chair under the order, Benyon refused to administer the oaths to him and went out of the court along with one of the Aldermen and a number of Burgesses. Draper was then sworn in by the next Alderman and proceeded to elect the three Aldermen to supply the vacancies in the bench by the method of polling which Benyon refused to accept. The Directors expressed their disapproval of the change attempted by Hastings and even applauded Benyon's resistance to this innovation.

(To be continued.)

AN ASPECT OF GURU TEG BAHADUR'S CAREER.

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Our authorities give conflicting accounts of Teg Bahadur's character. The Sikhs describe him as a mild worshipper of God. When he was five years of age, he used to indulge in trains of thought, during which he would speak to no one. When Makkhan Shah went to discover the Guru at Bakala, he heard that Teg Bahadur 'dwelt there in silence and retirement; but had no ambition to undertake the onerous duties of the position'. He was often found absorbed in contemplation. "He felt no pleasure in access of wealth, nor grief at its departure,.... but was happy in the contemplation of God's goodness"¹. His hymns, says Trumpp, 'bear the stamp of a rather melancholy and world-renouncing character'². According to the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*³, however, he was taken prisoner on account of his predatory proceedings and executed as a rebel against the Government. This book was written in 1783⁴—more than a century after Teg Bahadur's death—by a Muslim historian who lived far away from the Punjab⁵. It is, however, supported by a Persian work written by Timur Shah Abdali about 1783⁶. Finally, Trumpp points out that some Sikh chronicles⁷ confirm the charges brought against Teg Bahadur by the Muslim writers. "According to them", says he, "the Guru appears by no means as a harmless spiritual instructor, but riding at the front of well-armed disciples, who, if not willingly provided, levied contributions on the zamindars, and the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed, and made predatory incursions

¹ Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV, pp. 331-334.

² *Adt Granth*, Introduction, p. lxxxviii.

³ Briggs. Vol. I, pp. 112-113.

⁴ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VIII. p. 196.

⁵ But Ghulam Husain lived at Patna, a place closely connected with Teg Bahadur's life.

⁶ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1942.

⁷ Attar Singh, *Travels of Guru Teg Bahadur and Guru Govind Singh*.

on the Muhammadan population. The Guru had not only a strong band of Sikhs with him, but he engaged also some rural clans to enter his service, promising them that he would pay them handsomely and put them in the way of obtaining booty¹. In the absence of any reference to Teg Bahadur in the contemporary Persian histories² we may take the statements of Ghulam Husain and Timur Shah as an indication that Muslim tradition was unanimous in regarding the Guru in the light more of a military adventurer than of a spiritual leader. As this tradition is supported by the Sikh chronicles mentioned by Trumpp, we are disposed to accept it as an approximation to the truth.

Our next task is to determine the period of Teg Bahadur's military activity. Cunningham says that he was 'summoned to Delhi as a pretender to power and as a disturber of the peace' *before* the Assam expedition; at that time he owed his escape to the intercession of Ram Singh. He adds that *after* his return from Assam, Teg Bahadur "followed the example of his father with unequal footsteps, and, choosing for his haunts the wastes between Hansee and the Sutlej, he subsisted himself and his disciples by plunder...."³. There is no reason to question the authenticity of the Sikh tradition that Ram Singh met Teg Bahadur at Patna⁴. We may, therefore, reject Cunningham's statement that Ram Singh saved the Guru in Delhi. We have reasons to think that the Guru joined Ram Singh at Patna sometime in 1668. As Guru Gobind was born at Patna in January, 1666,⁵ Teg Bahadur must have come there before that time. If he was really summoned to Delhi for what Cunningham describes as 'his own suspicious proceedings', that incident must have occurred during the period 1664-1665. After his accession he must have spent some time in collecting troops and organising them. The machinery of the Imperial Government must have taken some time in moving against him. If the Sikh chronicles are to be believed, the Guru visited many places *before* the Assam expedition—Amritsar, Walla, Hazara, Durga, Kiratpur, Anandpur, Mulowal, Handiaya, Dhilwan, Khiwa, Bhikki,

¹ *Adi Granth*, Introduction, pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix.

² Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 79.

Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 354.

³ *History of the Sikhs*, Chap. III.

⁴ Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 348-352.

⁵ Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 358.

Maur, Maisarkhana, Talwandi Sabo, Kot Dharmwala, Dhamdhan, Tekpur, Barna, Kurkhetar (Thaneswar), Bani Badrpur, Kara Manak, Agra, Itawa, Priyag, Benares, Sarasrawan, Gaya, Patna¹. It is difficult to believe that within a period of less than two years the Guru could have collected troops, plundered the people, stood his trial in Delhi, and visited so many places lying all over Northern India, from the Punjab to Bihar. Moreover, the Guru was so much troubled by his kinsmen during this period that it was probably quite impossible for him to collect troops and create some sort of organization for plunder. We may conclude, therefore, that the plundering activities of the Guru began *after* the Assam expedition.

What were the causes that led Teg Bahadur to join Ram Singh at Patna? We know that, like Har Rai, Teg Bahadur was a hunter². Naturally he was a good horseman. When Ram Singh arrived at Patna at the head of a large Imperial army, a homeless wanderer like Teg Bahadur—one who had the blood of the adventurer Hargobind in his veins—was naturally attracted towards him. We may very well refuse to believe the stories invented by the Sikh chroniclers, who tell us that Ram Singh at first sent an envoy to the Guru, then personally saw him and 'sought the protection of his holy feet' and even 'received initiation as a Sikh'³. Nor need we believe with the Sikhs that the Guru agreed to accompany the Rajput Prince solely because "he would have an excellent opportunity of preaching to his Sikhs, and extending the Sikh religion throughout the countries traversed"⁴. It may be suggested that Ram Singh might have become interested in the Sikhs when his father acted as Har Krishan's guardian in Delhi.

What part did the Guru play in the expedition? Sir Jadunath Sarkar says that he 'fought in the Mughal ranks'. He does not tell us whether he derives this information from the Persian histories, which, according to him, are silent about Teg Bahadur⁵. Macauliffe gives us a long story⁶, which makes the Guru the *de facto* leader of the expedition. The Guru and the Raja went to Rangamati, where the former's spiritual power rendered ineffective all the

¹ Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 336-347.

² Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 343.

³ Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 348-352.

⁴ Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 352.

⁵ *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 354.

⁶ Vol. III, pp. 354-360.

incantations, spells and tricks of the King of Assam. Then 'the goddess Devi' informed the King's mother in a vision that it was useless to oppose the Guru. The dowager queen communicated this order of the goddess to her son. The King of Kamrup then proceeded to the Guru's tent 'to pray for pardon and protection'. Peace was then concluded at the intercession of the Guru. At Dhubri a mound was raised in memory of Guru Nanak who had visited the place.

At least two statements in this narrative deserve to be accepted as true. The Persian histories tell us that Rangamati was Ram Singh's base of operations¹. Naturally the Guru went there. That he visited Dhubri seems to be proved by Prof. Teja Singh's statement that remnants of an old *sangat* founded by him at that place still exist². It is difficult to believe that Teg Bahadur accompanied the expedition as a spiritual leader and peace-maker. It is clear that the Sikh version of the expedition³ is too much simplified. We are told that Teg Bahadur was informed of the birth of his son at Rangamati *after* the conclusion of peace. Not more than ten months must, therefore, have elapsed since his departure from Patna. We are also told that the Guru and Ram Singh set out for Patna after the arrival of the news of Guru Gobind's birth, and that, while the Guru remained at Patna with his family, Ram Singh left that city 'after a few days' rest and spiritual comfort' and went to Delhi to report his success to the Emperor. This narrative is quite incompatible with the detailed description of the expedition which we find in the Persian histories. It may be pointed out that Ram Singh passed through Patna in 1668, retreated from Assam to Rangamati in 1671, waited there for about five years and reached Delhi in 1676. Again, the Sikh chroniclers are incorrect in representing the Raja of Assam as the defeated party anxious for peace. According to Sir J. N. Sarkar, whose account is based on the Persian histories and the Ahom *buranjis*, Ram Singh begged for peace in 1670, but in vain; in 1671 he retired to Rangamati, 'foiled in his purpose and heartily sick of the war'⁴. The Guru, therefore, had no opportunity to act as a peace-maker. So

1 Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 214.

2 *Sikhism. Ideals and Institutions*, p. 41.

3 Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 357-360.

4 *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 215-216. Gait (*History of Assam*, pp. 149-150) supports this view.

many inaccuracies in the Sikh version of the war, coupled with the improbability of the proposition that the Guru accompanied a military expedition for the purpose of 'preaching to his Sikhs and extending the Sikh religion throughout the countries traversed',¹ lend some colour to Sir J. N. Sarkar's view that Teg Bahadur really 'fought in the Mughal ranks'.

If our readers accept this view, they will find it easy to explain why Teg Bahadur became a military adventurer *after* his return from Assam. He had discovered a new interest in life—the love of martial exploits. He had familiarised himself with the methods of plunder, which were no secret to the Mughal troops in those days. He had acquired useful military experience in a large-scale campaign. As we have suggested above, he probably left Ram Singh's camp about the time of the latter's retreat from Assam (March, 1671) and returned to his family at Patna. 'After a protracted residence' there, which probably covered not more than a year,² he returned to the Punjab. He left his family behind; he was probably afraid to implicate them directly in his uncertain future. He told his mother that his intention was to give instructions to the Sikhs in the Punjab and to lead them to the right way³. Strangely enough, the Sikh chronicles do not give us any detailed account of his activities in the Punjab. We are merely told that he visited Ropar (in the Ambala district), Kiratpur and Anandpur; we are then brought directly to his death.⁴ May we assume that this somewhat strange silence of the Sikh chronicles has something to do with the charges levelled against Teg Bahadur by Ghulam Husain and Timur Shah?⁵

1 There is no evidence to show that Teg Bahadur preached in Assam or 'extended the Sikh religion throughout the countries traversed'. It is significant that there is no *sangat* or *Gurduwara* in Assam except at Dhubri—and Dhubri owed its importance, in the eyes of the Sikhs, to Guru Nanak's visit.

2 When the Guru informed his mother that he was going to the Punjab, she said that "he had been long absent in the Kamrup country, had *only now* returned, and it was *too soon* to leave her again". (Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 361).

3 Macauliffe Vol. IV, p. 361.

4 Macauliffe, Vol. IV, pp. 363-364.

5 An incident narrated by Macauliffe (Vol. IV, pp. 343-344) shows that the Sikhs were fully aware of the repugnance excited in the Hindu community by spiritual teachers interested in hunting and fighting. During his journey to Patna Teg Bahadur was refused reception by an eminent saint on the ground that he had shot some animals. Of course, the Guru's supernatural power finally converted the saint to Sikhism.

As in the case of Hargobind, so in the case of Teg Bahadur, militarism was an accident: neither a logical offshoot of the Sikh religion, nor a historical necessity for the Sikh community. It arose, in both cases, out of the accidental association of the Guru with the Mughals. Apart from other indications pointing to the same conclusion, we should note that there is an interval of more than 37 years between the battle of Kiratpur, Hargobind's last military exploit, and Teg Bahadur's military activities in the Punjab after his return from the Assam expedition. If we assume any logical connection between the military activities of the two Gurus, we cannot offer any satisfactory explanation of the long lull of the intermediate period.

No detailed information is available about the military activities of Teg Bahadur, apart from the few references we have already quoted. Timur Shah makes a confusion between Teg Bahadur and his son and although he refers to Teg Bahadur's conflict with the Mughal Government, he makes the Guru die peacefully, not at the hand of the executioner. The following extract from the *Hakikat-i Bina Wa Uurj-i Firkah-i Sikhan*¹ relates to Teg Bahadur's quarrel with the Mughals:

"When the news of many people assembling (around Tegh Bahadur), reached the holy ears², orders were issued to the effect: 'If, as previously, like the poor *Nanankpanthi faqirs*³, you live peacefully in corner, no harm will befall you. On the contrary, alms, suitable for your maintenance in the style of *faqirs*, would be given to you from the State treasury, just as in the case of other prayer-offering groups... But the horses and arms, and the equipment of your retinue that you have gathered in your places of worship, must be removed'. Accordingly, the Faujdar of Sarhind intimated this order (to Tegh Bahadur). Before the proud and virile disciples who had assembled there, Tegh Bahadur said defiantly, 'We are *faqirs*; what God has given us, why should we return? We are living in our own shelters, why should you harm us?' On this point arose a great contention,

¹ Translation by Dr. I. Banerjee in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1942.

² Aurangzib.

³ Timur Shah knew Hargobind's name, but he was probably unaware of his conflict with the Mughals.

which ended in war and Tegh Bahadur was driven out of that place by force. Tegh Bahadur took up his residence in the jungly country between Shahjahanabad and Lahore and passed his days in anxiety".

We now come to the question of Teg Bahadur's death. According to Macauliffe¹, this was due to the Guru's encouragement to the Hindus of Kashmir when Aurangzib tried to convert them to Islam. The Kashmiri Pandits, whom the Mughal Viceroy gave six months' time to consider whether they should embrace Islam or die for their religion, were supernaturally informed that no one but Guru Teg Bahadur would be able to protect their honour and their faith. They saw the Guru at Anandpur and 'implored him to preserve the honour of their faith in whatever way he deemed most expedient'. The Guru advised them to make the following representation to the Emperor. "First make him (*i.e.*, Teg Bahadur) Mussalman and then all the people, including ourselves, will of our own accord adopt the faith". The Emperor then ordered the Guru to be summoned to his presence. The Guru started for the capital. His delay in the journey created a suspicion in the mind of the Emperor, who 'despatched orders all over his empire to find and arrest him'. There are clear indications in Sikh records to show that the Guru was travelling incognito, presumably to avoid arrest. His identity was betrayed by an accident at Agra², where he was arrested. He was then taken to Delhi, imprisoned and offered Islam or death. To his executioner the Guru said: "The Sikh religion is dearer to me than life, and I cannot renounce it even under the pressure of immediate and certain death". His head was cut off when he bowed to God at the conclusion of his devotions.

There is no evidence to dispute the Guru's connection with the Kashmir movement against conversion, but we cannot take it as the sole cause of the Guru's execution. His military activities, referred to by Ghulam Husain and Timur Shah, must have excited the displeasure of the Emperor and provided a sufficient excuse for punishment. Whether Teg Bahadur was really driven by the Mughal troops to take up his residence in the jungly country between Shahjahanabad

¹ Vol. IV, pp. 368-387.

² If the Guru was really going from Anandpur to Delhi in obedience to the imperial order, why should he be found at Agra? This is an additional evidence to show that he was trying to escape.

and Lahore, we do not know; but the Emperor's order for his arrest, and the Guru's attempt to avoid arrest, seem to offer indirect confirmation to Timur Shah's statement. That Aurangzib was determined to adopt severe measures against the Sikhs, is clear from the following statement of Khafi Khan: "Aurangzib ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the guru's agents (masands) for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities"¹. It is strange that, in course of their repeated references to Aurangzib's bigotry, the Sikh chroniclers do not mention this direct assault on their religion. Probably their silence on this point is a counterpart of their silence on Guru Teg Bahadur's military activities.

Whatever may have been the real cause of Aurangzib's displeasure with Teg Bahadur, there is no reason to believe that the Guru really wanted to 'free the earth from the burden of the Muhammadans'². Had he been a *national* leader of some importance, the Muslim historians would not have remained absolutely silent about him. In this case a negative argument is almost decisive. The Persian histories are full of Shivaji's exploits; why should they refuse even to mention Teg Bahadur's death? Guru Arjan's death was considered important enough to find a place in Jahangir's own memoirs, but the military exploits of Hargobind and Teg Bahadur are passed over in silence even by the official and non-official historians. The Satnami rebellion and the risings of the Jat peasants in Aurangzib's reign are described in detail; why so much indifference to the Sikhs?

¹ Quoted by Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 354.

² Macauliffe, Vol. IV, p. 372.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE IN BIHAR UNDER THE HON'BLE COMPANY.

By DR. K. K. BASU, BHAGALPUR.

The history of currency and coinage in Bihar in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth is a subject of abiding interest to the economists and historians alike. At the initial stage of Hon'ble Company's rule over Bengal the silver coins that passed current in the several districts consisted of Sonats, Siccas and rupees. The Sonats and Siccas were named after Murshidabad and Patna, the places where they were struck. The Murshidabad Sonats, weighed one *masha* and 2 *ratis*¹ and were perfect in weight and quality. They were issued in the reigns of Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II. The Murshidabad Sicca rupees had an weight similar to the Sonats and were issued in the 11th, 12th, 15th and 19th years of the reign of Shah Alam. The rupees were likewise designated Dacca, Benares and Arcot after the names of their places of issue. The Jehangirnagar or Dacca rupees weighed like the Murshidabad Sonat and Sicca and were issued in the same reigns. Azimabadi (Dacca) rupees coined in the reigns of Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II were of purest quality but were a *rati* less than the Murshidabad coins. Benares rupees, struck in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of Shah Alam and perfect in quality, were two *ratis* less than Murshidabad species in weight. The old Benares rupees, on the other hand, were those that had been issued by Alamgir and were deficient in quality as well as weight. Farruckabad rupees of Alamgir like the Benares rupees were 2 *ratis* deficient both in the quality of silver and in the weight. The Arcot rupees were of two classes, *viz.*, the English and the French. The English Arcots were deficient in weight and quality and were like the Farruckabad coins. Unlike the English, the French Arcots were perfect both in quality and weight and weighed 2 *ratis* less than the Murshidabadi species. Besides these silver coins, there were also in circulation bad, defaced and

1. Indian Jeweller's weight. 6 *ratis* = 1 Anna.

damaged silver media of exchange that went by the name of *Soorakee*, Chupooa or Mullit rupees. It is difficult to ascertain with precision the proportionate quantity of each species that passed in circulation in the several districts. In Bhagalpur, the Sonats composed the nine-tenths of the whole: in Rajmahal, Murshidabad Siccas formed the greatest number.

It should now be observed that there was hardly any standard coin in the Company's districts. It varied from one district to another. For instance, if at one district the Patna Sonat was the common medium of exchange, the Sicca was current at another. The different standards at the different localities, therefore, led to the practise of buying commissions or *battas* as it was called in the native dialect at the time of exchanging one species by another. To cite some concrete cases, the commission of about 6·4 and at times 2·13 per cent was charged on Dacca rupees when they needed conversion to Patna Sonats. Similarly, on Benares and Arcot rupees 8 or 11 and 11 or 12 per cent were respectively rated at the time of their exchange with the Sonats. On French Arcots and Farrukabad coins 9·8 or 11 percent were charged respectively. Where the Sicca was the standard currency the other species were reduced into Siccas by payment of different Commissions on different coins. In Rajmahal, for instance, where Sicca was the currency the *batta* charged for reducing other species of rupees to the standard was as follows: Sonat 1 9 p. c.: Dacca 4·9 : Benares 10·9 p. c.: English Arcot 10 15 p. c.: French Arcot 9·5 p. c.: Farrukabad 14·1 p. c. The discount at which the Sonat and Sicca rupee was purchased varied from one rupee to 2·4 percent. In his letter dated the 14th November 1789 to Sir John Shore, A. Seton, in charge of collections at Bhagalpur, wrote, that he was about to issue a proclamation throughout the district notifying that the ryots and under renters whose engagements had been expressed in Sonats (as was universally the case) were at liberty to pay the amount either in that sort of rupee, or in Siccas at 2 per cent.

There was hardly any uniformity in charging commissions or *battas*, the Sudder bazar rate varying from the mofussil bazar rate. To make the point clear, it needs mentioning that, the Murshidabad and Patna Sonats had to pay 6·1 percent at the mofussil and 1·9 per cent at the Suddar bazar at the time of reducing them to Sicca coins. If

however, the Sonats were bored, defaced or damaged, or if it was a Dacca rupee the commission was 9·6 or 3·2 percent at the mofussil and Sudder respectively. In case of Arcot rupees the *batta* was 18·3 percent in the mofussil and 10·5 per cent in the Sudder station. On defaced Benares coins commission of 25 percent was levied at the mofussil and on debased or short weight coins in general the *batta* was 6·9 percent. The Sudder bazar *batta* on French Arcots and Dacca species was 7·13 and 4·11 percent respectively.

Coming next to the payment of Government revenues, the species that was used for the purpose was mostly Sonat and at particular places any species of rupees without charging any discount on them. It may appear strange that at places where every sliver species passed current for purposes of the payment of revenue no *batta* was charged. The fact, however, is that in those cases *batta* was made an article of the ryots jumma or liabilities and it was calculated at the time of making the settlement and therefore no longer demanded at the time when they made payment of their revenues. Again, at places where Siccas formed the medium of revenue payment, a commission was charged at the rate above-mentioned if the payment was made in species other than the Sicca. Sometimes, the rate of discount charged on such species was 9·6 percent.

By the Government proclamation issued in Bihar on the 4th of December 1789, the Sudder and mofussil tenants, the under-renters and ryots had been given the option of paying to the Zamindars either in Siccas or (at a fix and equitable *batta* of 2 p. c.) in Sonats. The Zamindar in his turn had the option of paying the Sicca into the treasury in lieu of their corresponding value in sonats at the said *batta* of 2 percent. No doubt the siccas possessed intrinsic superior value over Sonats, but the currency of the latter and the circumstance of the engagements between the Zemindars and the under-renters etc., being invariably made out in that kind of coin gave it a superiority which more than counterbalanced its intrinsic want of value. The option of paying the revenue to the sudder malguzars, either in Sonats or in siccas, at a fixed and equitable *batta*, not having been perfectly understood in the mofussil, the shroffs found their advantage in buying up at a certain period Sonats, which of course, occasioned a scarcity of them in the mofussil at the very time when they were most wanted. In consequence

of this, payments of revenue were frequently tendered to the Zemindars and farmers in different sorts of sicca rupees which, as it was contrary to the letter of the engagements of the under-renters, and as there was no fixed rate of *batta* between the stipulated and tendered species of rupee, threw the under-renters and ryots but too much into the power of the Zemindar's shroffs and others who had money at command. The effect of the 10th paragraph of the resolutions of His Lordship The Governor General in Council under date the 8th September, 1789, binding the sudder malgurzars to extend the option to the under-renters and ryots restored the sicca rupee to a greater degree of currency and operated as an effectual check on those who aimed at drawing illicit advantages from the poverty of the moiussil malgurzars.

In case of circulation of rupees of various denominations the Govt. did not suffer any disadvantage so far as the payment of Government revenue was concerned. In cases where the revenue was fixed in Siccas and the payment was made in various species of coins the discount always went in favor of Government. But in an opposite case where the Government had large sums to disburse in paying to the soldiery or making investment in a particular coin it had to suffer a loss owing to the payment of a disadvantageous discount. Again, the discounts being not generally fixed and varying in every district, the petty inland trader who bought commodities of one district and sold them in another, as well as the general and extensive traders all suffered alike. A merchant of Calcutta or other places where Patna Sonat was not the medium of all purchases and sales and therefore not easily procurable had undoubtedly to undergo a loss in discounting their own species for the former. The system of *batta* in itself arbitrary stood in the way of any calculation being made by the traders of his gains or losses. For the advantage of the Government and the public alike it was deemed essential to universally establish sicca rupees as the current coin of the country without any distinction of discount except in cases of real loss arising out of the deterioration of the species from wear, clipping and such like contingent causes.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the small silver coins *viz.*, the eight anna and four anna pieces came into circulation and were exchanged for the pice in the principal bazars. The new Company's rupees (sicca) could be easily obtained for 2 eight anna pieces or 4

four anna pieces without discount, but in purchasing the Sicca rupee with small pieces of silver one or two pice was always charged.

Besides the aforesaid silver coins, copper coins issued by the Hon'ble Company were also in circulation in the 18th and 19th centuries. Copper coins were struck of various denominations, value and weight. In an advertisement dated Fort William, the 24th September 1781, the circulation of copper coins throughout the Presidency of Bengal was legalised at the rate of eighty Sicca rupees for the maund of eight Sicca weight, and it was at this rate that they were issued from the treasuries and other public offices. In order to make the circulation of the copper coins general throughout all the districts Collectors of revenues and other persons entrusted with the receipt of public money were directed to receive the same when tendered, in the proportion of ten rupees in every thousand, to be weighed when paid in sums exceeding half a maund in weight, and to be issued again in like manner and at the above rate in all public payments. For establishing it as a necessary division of a sicca rupee, and a convenient medium between silver and cowries in the purchase of common necessities of life, it was so directed that the copper coins were to be received according to the relative value fixed in the following table of copper to cowries without any discount whatsoever.

Denomination.	Relative value to a Sicca rupee.	Relative value to cowrie.	Weight.
1. Madosie ..	6 pice sicca each. 2 equal to 1 anna Sicca and 32 to a Sicca rupee.	Equal to 160 cowries.	20 annas Sicca weight each or 2560 in the maund of 80 Sicca weight.
2. Faloos ..	3 pice sicca each, 4 equal to an anna and 64 to a Sicca rupee.	Equal to 80 cowries.	10 annas Sicca weight each or 5120 in the maund of 80 Sicca weight.
3. Neem Faloos	1½ pice sicca each, 8 equal to an anna sicca and 128 to a sicca rupee.	Equal to 40 cowries.	5 annas sicca weight each or 10240 in the maund of 80 Sicca weight.

4. Paw Faloos	$\frac{3}{4}$ pice Sicca each, Equal to 20 16 equal to an cowies. anna Sicca and 256 to a sicca rupee.	$2\frac{1}{2}$ annas Sicca weight each or 20480 in the maund of 80 Sicca weight.
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The Madosie pice contained on the obverse the inscription 1190 جلوس سنه ۲۲ and on the reverse شاه عالم بادشاه. The Faloos, Neem Faloos and Paw Faloos contained inscriptions same as the above both on their obverse and reverse.

In addition to the aforesaid copper coins, the old copper tokens of Madho Sahi in Gorakhpur weight of 18 *mashas* as well as the new copper currency in Gorakhpur weight of $10\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas* were in circulation in some of the districts and especially in Bhagalpur and Rajmahal.

Towards the thirties of the 19th century copper currency in the Company's dominions in Bengal and Bihar consisted of the copper pice coined under Regulation III of 1831 and new Company's pice in circulation since 1836. The former was procurable at the rate of 59 for the Company's rupee, and 63 for Sicca rupees and the latter at 64 for the Company's rupee and at 68 for the Sicca. Before the circulation of the new Company's rupee 64 pice were obtainable for the Sicca rupee, after the new rupee came into circulation 62 and 63 were exchanged for a Sicca rupee. For the Company's rupee exchange varied from 56 to 59 of the Company's pice. The rate and description of pice in the interior and the sudder station were the same.

In the same century the price of an old gold mohar was Company's rupee 18/1 and that of new 7/1. The new 15 rupees gold mohar had also come into circulation.

REFERENCES.

The old correspondence preserved in the record room of the District Magistrate, Bhagalpur.

1. Revenue Letter sent, Dated Boglipore, the 7th November 1776, from Augustus Cleveland to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings.
2. The Advertisement from Fort William, Dated the 24th September 1781.
3. Revenue Letter sent, Dated Boglipore, the 15th July 1782, from Augustus Cleveland to Charles Grant, Resident at Maulda.

4. Revenue Letter sent, Dated Boglipore, the 13th November 1787, from Robert Adair to John Shore.

5. Revenue Letter sent, Dated Boglipore the 22nd December 1787, from Robert Adair to John Shore.

6. Revenue Letter sent, Dated Bhaugulpore, the 29th October 1789, from A. Seton to S.G. Heatley, Collector, Purnea.

7. Revenue Letter sent, Dated Bhaugulpore, the 14th November 1789, from A. Seton to John Shore.

8. Revenue Letter sent, Dated Bhaugulpore, the 26th November 1789, from A. Seton to John Shore.

9. Revenue Letter sent, Dated Bhaugulpore, the 7th March 1790, from A. Seton to Hon'ble Charles Stuart, President, Board of Revenue.

10. Revenue Letter sent, Dated Bhaugulpore, the 26th June 1837, from H. F. James, Acting Collector to the Commissioner of Revenue, Bhaugulpore.

HAS THE TA'RĪKH-I-MUZAFFAR SHĀHĪ REACHED US ?*

By C. H. SHAIKH.

Nizāmu'd-Din Aḥmad Bakhshī,¹ Ferishta,² Shaikh Sikandar³ b. Manjhū, and the author of the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*⁴ mention a work entitled '*TA' RĪKH-I-MUZAFFAR SHĀHĪ*' among the sources of the history of Gujarāt during the Muslim monarchy. Shaikh Sikandar, on the other hand, mentions *TWO* works of the same name, one written during the reign of Muzaffar I and the other during that of Muzaffar II. As far as the first is concerned we have no knowledge about it. As regards the second, Shaikh Sikandar b. Manjhū, the author of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* says that it was written by a 'Mullā'⁵ ("learned man") who had dedicated it to Sulṭān Muzaffar II.

Recently the Gujarāt Vernacular Society, Aḥmadābād, published in its Research Publication Series, No. 22, a Persian work, with an introduction, notes, Summary and translation in Gujarati, under the title '*MUZAFFAR SHĀHĪ*'. In the concluding lines of the Persian text, the scribe, one Sārā Mehta, names it '*TA' RĪKH-I-MUZAFFAR SHĀHĪ*'—Beyond the above remark of the scribe there is nothing in the body of the text or the beginning of the work to show its correct name. But as the manuscript from which the text has been prepared is defective in the beginning one might suspect that the missing portion bore some indication regarding the name of the work, or that the scribe at least knew it to be the *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī*. There is another copy of apparently the same work in the British Museum,⁶ which is

* A summary of this paper was submitted for Reading at the Sixth Session of the Indian History Congress, held in December 1943 at Aligarh.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*; (Ed. by Dr. De, Bibli. Indi Series), i, p. 3.

² *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhimi*, Bombay Lith., i, p. 6.

³ *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari*, Bombay lith. 1308/1890, p. 3.

⁴ Gaekwad Oriental Series, ed. Prof. Sayyid Nawab 'Alī, Pt. I, p. 64; Bombay Lith., p. 69.

⁵ The word "Mullā'i" ("a learned man") has been misprinted as "ملالی" in the lithographed edition and has been accepted as such in the *Introduction* to the *Muzaffar Shāhī*, p. 4.

⁶ Add. 26, 279, see Rieu, *Catalogue*....., i, p. 287.

as defective as the copy from which the text for the above publication is constituted, by Mawlawī Sayyid Abū Zafar Nadwī of the Gujarāt Vernacular Society. Dr. Rieu has not, however, attempted to assign any name to this work.

The '*Muzaffar Shāhī*' as presented in the Gujarat Society's publication commemorates in embellished prose and poetry, much of which is purely literary, the Conquest of the Fort of Māndū (Shādiābād) by Sultān Muzaffar II in 924/1518 from the hands of the usurper, Mēdnī Rā'ī, who was formerly the prime minister of Sultān Maḥmūd Khaljī of Mālwa. It concludes with the account of the Banquet which the latter gave in honour of the former (that is, Sultān Muzaffar II of Gujarāt). The author who calls himself by his pen name "*QANI 'I'*," takes pleasure in giving a day to day account of this campaign. He says that he was himself no historian but a poet, that he had never attempted before to write any history or even prose, and that he had undertaken to describe this important event at the special order of the king². The historical matter contained in the text can be easily given in two or three pages, without either suppressing the sense or even the matter.

In view of the contents and absence of any indication of the name in the introduction of the work, one of the reviewers³ of the above publication has been led to raise doubts about the name under which the publication appears. He contends that 'Its real name ought to have been Fath-i-Mandū', on the ground that the author has clearly specified his intention of describing the Conquest of the Fort of Mandū, that 'in order to justify the name Muzaffar Shāhī', the work must deal 'comprehensively with the whole range of the reign of Muzaffar II' and that 'such a work has not reached us'. He goes on to say further that the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, which is the only comprehensive history for Muslim Sultānate of Gujarāt, quotes one *Bahādurshāhī*

¹ *Muzaffar Shāhī*, p. 6.

It is very strange that neither Rieu nor Mawlawī Sayyid Abū Zafar Nadwī could notice the pen name of the author which is clearly mentioned in the following passage:—

”و کمینہ بی بضاعت و شکستہ بی استطاعت قانعی کہ از فنون فضل و کمال
بی بہرہ و بہ عجز و قصور معترف (و) بہ قلب بضاعت مقرر است، در بیان کیفیت
آن بہ موجب فرمان واجب الانعاز سلطان سلاطین زمان، پناہ اہل ایمان، تاج بخش،
گیتی ستان، مذبح صدق و صفا، خلیفہ خدا، اعظم اولیا، شروع میزداید...”

² *Ibid.*

³ *Bulletin of the Deccan College R. Institute, Poona*, iv, 399-401.

(rather than *Muzaffar Shāhī*) for this event (Conquest of Mandū). Finally he states that even the mention of the names of the two Muzaffar Shāhīs in the lithographed editions of the *Mir' āt-i-Sikandarī* has 'unaccountably crept in', in so far as he (the reviewer) could not find this mention in the four MSS.¹ which he had occasion to examine.

That the *MUZAFFAR SHAHĪ* as presented by the Gujarāt Vernacular Society is identical with the *Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī* which was dedicated to Sulṭān Muzaffar II is amply borne out by the following among other facts :—

1. That the *Mir' āt-i-Sikandarī* derives its information about the Conquest of the Fort of Mandū (in 924/1518) from the *Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī* is shown by the fact that in a very early MS.² of the *Mir' āt-i-Sikandarī* the author gives out his source of information as "مولف مظفر شاهی" at the beginning as also at the conclusion of the account of this important event. In another MS.³ of the same work this is also the case.

2. That the '*Muzaffar Shāhī*' is mentioned by the authors of the two *Mir' āts* only in connection with the Conquest of Mandū in 924/1518 and *nowhere else* might support the view that it did not contain anything more than what it actually contains. As regards the name, there is hardly anything in the name that can be considered as an Index to the contents of a work ; in fact recording in detail the various day to day happenings of the campaign for the Conquest of Mandū is as much indicative of the reign of Sulṭān Muzaffar II as other events of his reign. Innumerable instances of other works so named can be easily cited.

3. That the text of the *Mir' āt-i-Sikandarī*, in so far as the account of the Conquest of Mandū is concerned, is nothing but a *clever abridgement* of the detailed version found in the *Muzaffar Shāhī* as presented in the Gujarat Vernacular Society's publication, and that not merely words and phrases but sentences after sentences seem to have been borrowed from the above work, will be clear from the readings found in the following :—

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

² Manuscript belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 195 in their collection), which is dated to have been transcribed as early as 1038/1629. See Foll. 108^a, line 7 and 109^b, line 13.

³ Belonging to the Library of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, No. ZZ-b. 22, see foll. 113^b.

- I. *Muzaffar Shāhī* (Gujarat V. Society's publication), pp. 11-12, 18-19, 21-22, 23, 26, 30-32, 33-34, 36-44, 58-59 and 87.
- II. *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, Bombay lith. 1308/1890, P. 147, 11.9-17, 17-19; P. 148, 11.5-8, 8-10, 10-12, and pp. 149-50.
- III.Do.....Manuscript belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal¹ (No. 195 of their collection). This was transcribed as early as 1038/1629. Foll. 108-110.
- IV.Do.....Manuscript belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society² (No. ZZ-b-22). Foll. 112-4.
- V.Do.....Manuscript belonging to the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdhaka Mandala, Poona³ (No. 65 in their list). It was transcribed as early as 1023/1613. See Foll. 84-b—85.

From the above facts it will be clear that the work published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Aḥmadābād, is none other than the *Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī* which was dedicated to Sulṭān Muzaffar II of Gujarāt. The promoters of the Society do, therefore, deserve our warmest thanks for putting this important work in the hands of the students of Gujarat History.

Finally, it may be pointed out only in passing that *TWO* MSS. of very early transcription⁴ (that is, A. H. 1038 and 1042) contain the mention of the names of the two *Muzaffar Shāhīs* in their introduction; it would be, therefore, unfair and incorrect to remark that their mention has 'unaccountable crept in'⁵ in the introduction of the printed editions.

¹ We are indebted to the Society for the loan of this valuable Manuscript, which is one of the finest MSS. of the *Mir'āt* known to me. It is written in a clear Nasta'liq and had been formerly the property of the Mughal rulers, who seem to have checked it from time to time.

² We are indebted to the Society for the loan of this MS.

³ We are indebted of the Mandala for the loan of this most important MS.

⁴ Viz *ASB*, and Add, 26, 277 of the Bri. Mus., see, Rieu, *Cat.*, i, 287-88.

⁵ For a clarification of this point please see my paper 'Was the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* Revised by the author himself?' Published in the *New Indian Antiquary* vi, number 9, December 1943, pp. 193-196.

MIR JUMLA'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SRI RANGA RAYAL AND SHAHUJI BHONSLA¹

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Mir Jumla played a conspicuous rôle in the history of India for about three decades as a trader, a minister and a general. But above all he was a diplomat, and his diplomacy was hardly less in importance than his activity in other spheres. Indeed, it may be affirmed without any exaggeration that Mir Jumla towered above all his contemporaries in India as regards his diplomatic acumen and sagacity. Even Aurangzeb, so well-known for his astuteness and craft, yielded palm to this Persian adventurer in this respect and since the latter's employment in imperial service, looked up to him for advice as his friend, philosopher and guide, in all matters, *viz.*, invasion of Golkunda and Bijapur and planning and conducting of certain phases of the War of Succession. It was to the Mir, then Wazir of the Mughal Empire, that the Viceroy of the Deccan appealed for pulling his chestnuts out of the fire of imperial wrath and the Crown Prince's counter-intrigues. We might as well speak of Mir Jumliani diplomacy just as we speak of Kautilyan craft or Machiavellian policy. Like Bismarck tossing five balls at a time, Mir Jumla could carry on intrigues successfully with several powers, far and near, without in any way compromising his own position. Thus, in order to save himself from the wrath of his master, Sultan Qutb Shah of Golkunda, he negotiated with the Shah and the Wazir of Iran, the Raja of Chandragiri, the Sultan of Bijapur, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan and through him with the Emperor, the Abyssinian Governor of the Bijapuri Karnatak and even the Maratha captain, Shahuji Bhonsla. Yet he could retain his freedom of action and lean on any one power as he thought expedient, could play off one against another and succeed in improving his own diplomatic position.

¹ Read at the Indian History Congress, Madras Session, 1944.

In this paper an attempt has been made to review the Mir's diplomatic relations with Sri Ranga Rayal, the Raja of Chandragiri, and Shahuji Bhonsla which well illustrate his diplomatic genius.

(i) *Mir Jumla and Sri Ranga Rayal.*

It is well known that Sri Ranga Rayal, the Raja of Chandragiri, sought the protection of the Mughal Emperor in order to save his dominions in the Karnatak from being absorbed by the two Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan, Bijapur and Golkunda.¹ But a critical study of a passage in Zahuri's *Muhammadnamah* and a letter in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*² clearly shows that it was Mir Jumla who persuaded the Raja of Chandragiri to appeal to the Mughals and even tried to induce the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan to help the royal supplicant. At the same time it becomes clear that Mir Jumla did this only to save his own position and was not at all sincere in his profession of helping the Raja.

To understand this phase of Mir Jumla's diplomacy it is necessary to briefly recount the situation in the Deccan about the middle of the 17th Century. By 1653 Mir Jumla accomplished the task of conquering the rich plains of the Eastern Karnatak, to which he had been deputed by his master, the Sultan of Golkunda. But within a year we find him "up in arms"³ against that master and by end of 1655 he definitely deserted him and joined the Mughal imperial service. Aware of his master's wrath, he eagerly endeavoured to protect himself "by acts of finesse and tricks of diplomacy."⁴ Probably his first natural impulse was to be prepared to return to his home country and to endeavour to secure the goodwill of the Court of Iran before Qutb Shah could do that.⁵ But the reply of Shah Abbas II, containing a gesture of help came too late and was too vague for Mir Jumla to be of any use to him. Moreover, he could not have been under any illusion about the arrival of timely help from Persia.

Hence he had to look around for shelter nearer home. He evidently considered the Rayal, the erstwhile victim of his (or his master's)

¹ See Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I. 222-25.

² M. N. (Sarkar MS.) 453; *Adab* (OPL MS.), 76a-b.

³ Fort St. George Letter to the Company (18th Sept. 1654) FEF. 1651-54. 290; Love *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I. 115.

⁴ *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 30a.

⁵ See my articles on *Correspondence of the Deccani Sultans and Mir Jumla with the Court of Iran*. J.B. O. R. S. March and June 1942. Tabrezi's *Golkunda Letters* 70a-73a; Tahir Wahid, *Ruqat-i-Shah Abbas Sani*, 154-56.

aggression, as the most suitable and nearest man to approach and tried to conciliate him by promising respite in return for his support.¹ Smarting under the humiliation of defeat at the hands of Adil Shah and of having had to receive Gandikota (1652) as a gift from him,² Mir Jumla had naturally desired to retrieve his honour by attempting to regain through diplomacy what he had lost in battle. His refusal to grant a right of passage to the Bijapuri general, Khan Muhammad, to Jinji, his intrigues with Mysore and overtures to the Rayal, who was emboldened to return to Vellore,³ might well be regarded as part of this diplomacy. But the master-stroke of his policy was his proffered mediation on behalf of the Rayal with the Mughals. First, an understanding took place between Mir Jumla and the Rayal, and then Mir Jumla carried on an active correspondence with Aurangzeb. Zahur ibn Zahuri, the author of the *Muhammadnamah*, indeed, writes that "Sri Ranga had created trouble in the fort of Vellore, and through correspondence made Mir Jumla his own *wakil*, and for his own self agreed to pay....peshkash to the Mughals. Mir Jumla had also taken the responsibility in this affair, and he was tempting the Mughals by all means to the help the Raja."⁴ It was about 1653 that the Rayal, evidently persuaded by Mir Jumla, sent his confidential Brahman agent, named Srinivas, to Aurangzeb with a petition addressed to the Emperor expressing willingness to adopt Islam and offering to send, besides an annual tribute in cash and materials, 50 lakh *huns* and 200 elephants and costly jewels, in return for protection of his territories from the aggressions of the Sultans.⁵

By such a course Mir Jumla would not only win over the Rayal to stand by him in an emergency but he would also be able to outwit Adil Shah and avenge himself on his own master Qutb Shah. The success of Mir Jumla's policy can be seen from the fact that the news of the appeal of the Rayal to the Emperor, his willingness to accept Islam and the deputation of a sagacious

¹ *Adab*, 36b, 39a.

² See my article on 'Some Letters of Abdullah Qutb Shah & Mir Jumla relating to the partition of the Karnatak' in Pr. I. H. R. C. (Mysore session), 1942.

³ *Mission du Madure* III. 47; M. N. 431-53; Dutch records in FEF 1651-4, xxx iii.

⁴ M. N. 453.

⁵ *Adab*, 33b (45 elephants, acc. to M. N. 453). For petition see *Adab*, 33b-34a; 54b-55a; *Majma' i Maktubat* (ASB. MS) 81a-82b; 84a-85b; *Gulashtha*;

Mughal ambassador, Muhammad Mumin Safdarkhani in 1653-4 to him for enquiry, caused a flutter in the minds of the Sultans. They feared that they would lose all their recent conquests in the Karnatak. Adil Shah was alarmed into hurrying with his conquests (e. g. Vellore, 1653) and became fully prepared to take Mir Jumla in his pay. Qutb Shah now tried his best to appease Mir Jumla by restoring to him his posts and *mahals* as before. But it was too late now. The astute Wazir, already approached by the Mughals and probably in expectation of a reply of Persia, resorted to dilatory tactics towards his master, only because they were "good and proper for the occasion".¹

He adopted towards Aurangzeb also the same dilatory policy as towards Qutb Shah. Even when the Emperor, yielding to Aurangzeb's repeated importunities, agreed to take Mir Jumla under his protection, Mir Jumla hung back and prayed for a year's respite. As Aurangzeb wrote to the Emperor on the strength of Muhammad Mumin's report: "His (Mir Jumla's) profession of submission to the imperial court is just a matter of policy and so long as he can dexterously avert the hostility of the two Sultans, he will not leave that country and turn to any other place. Having won over the zamindars of the Karnatak with courtesy and beneficence, and making friendship with Ikhlas Habshi (the Abyssinian Governor of Bijapuri Karnatak), Mir Jumla is passing his days with much care and caution."*

To neutralise Mir Jumla's strongly entrenched diplomatic position, the two Sultans counter-intrigued with the Mughals. In Shawwal 1064 (5 Aug-2 Sept. 1654) Aurangzeb asked Mumin to assure Qutb Shah of favours as the Shah had expressed "the intention of renewing the old agreements." The Sultan of Bijapur also continued his intrigues. The result was that the Emperor, heavily bribed by the two Sultans, refused to extend the hand of protection to the Rayal.⁴ The growing success of the Sultans' counter-intrigues menaced Mir Jumla's safety. He had therefore to cast his diplomatic net wider than before. Having won over Ikhlas Khan, he endeavoured to win over the Maratha leader Shahujī Bhonsla to neutralise the success of the

1 *Adab*, 34b, 35a, 44a, b; *Guldashta* (Alamgir to Abdullah).

2 *Adab*, 39a, 36b; Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I. 200-1; Tabrezi, 75a-76b.

3 *Adab*, 55a (Year wrongly written in text as 1044 A. H.)

4 *Adab*, 44c.

Sultan of Bijapur.¹ Again, Mir Jumla had once mediated on behalf of the Rayal to feed fat his grudge against Bijapur and Golkunda and secure his position. Probably to neutralise Qutb Shah and to create a second line of defence Mir Jumla now wanted to win over the Rayal again and thereby counteract the moves of the Deccani Sultans and so he informed Aurangzeb of "the facts about the sincerity of the promises of the Rayal," evidently asking him to reconsider the latter's fate. Aurangzeb replied that though Mir Jumla's earlier reserve about the Rayal had prejudiced his case, he would put up the case anew before the Emperor. Aurangzeb wrote: "If the affair of the Rayal had been known from before, as you have written now, and if you had written about him to me to help him he would have been then favoured. But in spite of enquiries (on our part) you were then silent about his fate. But as Padshahs have to keep an eye everywhere, so I am putting up your case regarding the Rayal anew before the Emperor. You may state what you have thought about him and send an intelligent person to explain the things to me, as you had spoken to the official *harkara*."²

When the plan of the invasion of Golkunda was settled by Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb advised the Mir to win over the Rayal at the time of his advance northwards from the Karnatak.³

(ii) *Mir Jumla and Shahuji Bhonsla.*

Mir Jumla endeavoured to win over the Maratha leader, Shahuji Bhonsla, who had a grievance against Adil Shah, and had expressed a desire to join the Mughals, by interceding on his behalf with Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb, hoping to use him against Bijapur, approved of Mir Jumla's assurances of favours to him as "highly proper" and wanted to know from the Mir about Shahuji's intentions, as communicated by the latter's agent, so that he might duly consider them.⁴ Probably Mir Jumla began negotiating with Shahuji, even when Muhammad Mumin was in the Karnatak and Aurangzeb wrote to him approving of his conduct: "It is necessary for you to conciliate a person, who in fear of his own master, expresses a desire to serve in this (imperial) court."⁵

Even after his appointment as the Mughal Wazir, Mir Jumla interceded on behalf of Shahuji. The details are not known—why Mir

¹ See next Section.

² *Adab*, 76a-b.

³ *Ibid.*, 76b, 72a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 76a-b.

⁵ *Ibid.* 73a-74b. For Shahuji's first rupture with the Bijapur Court in 1644 and subsequent disloyal intrigues, see Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 85-7, 16-23.

Jumla did so, what he actually pleaded etc. But it seems that Mir Jumla tried to induce the Emperor to support Shahuji as against Bijapur, and thereby to prepare the ground for giving effect to the plan of invasion of Bijapur. This naturally caused mortification to Dara who was the champion of the Deccani Sultans. Aurangzeb approved of Mir Jumla's actions and advised him to dispose of the matter quickly by continuing false negotiations with Shahuji. Aurangzeb wrote to Mir Jumla :

"What you have said before the Emperor about Shahuji is well-timed, fit and proper. As it is necessary to dispose of this matter for certain reasons you should endeavour to place before the Emperor what you consider fit and see that the affair is managed in that way. Do not neglect this matter. I have received the Emperor's *farman*, written in his own handwriting. I have learnt its contents. It will be highly desirable if you reveal (to me) those delicate matters, which can be included only in an interview, from out of the curtain of mystery. I, too, will give the reply to these points in the proper form. The sooner you can conclude the business of that Bhonsla (namely Shahuji) the better, as it has been the cause of the manifestation of lack of spirit (or ambition) on the part of *ānhā* (i. e. Dara's party); continue false negotiations with him."¹ Moreover, Mir Jumla wanted to utilise Shahuji Bhonsla in defending his Karnatak dominions against the rapacity of the Deccani Sultans during his absence in Delhi. So he advised the Viceroy of the Deccan to approach Shahuji for the purpose.

Thus, while Aurangzeb was engaged in taking appropriate military action and writing letters of threat to the Deccani powers, to dam the flood of their activities in Mir Jumla's jagirs in 1656-57 he did not forget to play suitable tricks of diplomacy. According to the advice of Mir Jumla, he kept up a busy but secret correspondence with Shahuji Bhonsla, and he kept the Mir informed of the progress of negotiations. Shahuji was to be utilised in protecting the jagirs in return for some preferment in order to counteract Dara's secret intrigues with the Sultans. Many a time did Aurangzeb instruct Shahuji Bhonsla to keep information of Mir Jumla's jagirs, and not to neglect the management of the Karnatak, and to remain on the alert,

¹ *Adab*, 84a-b.

so that no complications might arise in that locality. He also wrote to him, with promise of rewards, about checking the Hindu revolt, asked Mir Jumla to write to him personally if he thought "it necessary." Shahuji probably expressed willingness to help the Mughals, as we find Aurangzeb sent to Mir Jumla (in reply to his letter of 28 Shawwal 1066-9th August, 1656) the copy of the translation of the letter of Shahuji to his brother Trimbakji for his information and necessary action. Aurangzeb also requested Mir Jumla to inform him of the orders of the Emperor on Shahuji's petition. Probably an attack on Adil Shah's flank by Shahuji was contemplated, for Aurangzeb concludes the letter with the following: "It is not my concern at all if the injury on this perfidious person (Adil Shah) becomes irremediable; rather it is very desirable. (verse) What is good for you is also good for me....."¹²

Taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Mughals in Bijapur and the Karnatak (1656-57), Shahuji Bhonsla sneakishly endeavoured to snatch away some portions of the Karnatak with the help of Siddi Jauhar, the Abyssinian governor of Kurnool in Bijapur employ. But Shahuji met "defeat after defeat" at the hands of the imperial officers and the men of Mir Jumla due to the defection of Siddi Jauhar who was evidently alarmed by the Mughal victories, in Bijapur.³

1 *Adab* 88b-89a; 86a-b

2 Advised by Shahuji Aurangzeb wrote to Antaji Pandit (*Adab*, 87a-b) & to others also, *Ibid* 193b-194a.

3 *Adab*, 161b.

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS' INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COUNCIL IN CALCUTTA IN VIEW OF THE STRAINED ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS IN 1755-56.*

By DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA, M. A., PH. D., P. R. S.,

Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.

On the 23rd December¹ 1754, Godehu signed a 'provisional treaty'² with Saunders the validity of which depended on its final ratification by the home authorities of the English and French East India Companies. But the interests of the English and the French in different quarters were then too conflicting to admit of a cordial settlement. As a matter of fact, a war between the two was imminent and its formal declaration was only a question of time.

So, as we read in some correspondence³ of the Court of Directors with the Council in Calcutta, the former communicated due notes of warning and advice in this matter to the latter and asked them to be well on their guard against the risks of the apprehended conflict. They observed in paragraph 71 of their letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 31st January, 1755 : " We advised you by the ships of last season that we had for a considerable time been in Treaty with the French East India Company for an accommodation of the Differences between the two Companies on the Coast of Choromandel but notwithstanding our Readiness to agree, to all reasonable and Honourable Terms the Difficulties thrown in the way by the French Ministry and Company together with their usual chicanry (chicanery) have hitherto prevented those Differences from being terminated by a happy Treaty, however as one of the Commissaries still continues in England we are not absolutely without hopes it will at last be attended with

*Read at the last session of the Indian History Congress.

¹ Auber, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, Vol. I, p. 51.

² Ibid; Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 376; Malleson, *History of the French in India*, p. 433.

³ I read these unpublished letters recently in some collections of the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, which I am now engaged in editing.

success for which no Endeavours on our Part shall be wanting". They wrote in another letter, dated the 14th February, 1755: "It is highly necessary you should be informed that Great Naval Preparations are making both here and in France, what the event of them may be cannot be foreseen, you will therefore do well to be upon your Guard".

Some positive instructions to the following effect were communicated by the Court of Directors to the Council in Calcutta in paras 7-11 of their Despatch to the latter, dated the 26th March, 1755: "Great Naval Preparations have been making in France for sometime past, which has given so just an Alarm to our Administration and the Nation in general, That a fleet is fitting out with the great zeal and alacrity, sufficient to protect the Honour of the British Nation, what may be the consequence of these armaments cannot be foreseen but in all Events, it will be absolutely necessary that you stand well upon your Guard, until We can with some certainty give you further Information.

Although we expect that Our three Presidencies at all times act in concert and with mutual harmony and give their Aid, assistance and Advice wherever and whenever it may be necessary for the common Interest of the Company, without confining their views to their respective Presidencies only, yet it is at this Critical time more immediately necessary, and therefore We most strongly enjoin your observance of it, and that you will give all due attention, to the advices you may receive for those purposes from the Governours and Councils of our other Presidencies, or the Governours or any Select Committee constituted by us, or Our Secret Committee.

His Majesty having out of Tender Regard for the Welfare of the Company in the present Crisis, most graciously assisted us with a Detachment from His Royal Regiment of artillery, of Four Companies, each consisting according to the Establishment of One hundred and Seven Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included, one of the said Company is embarked on the Dodington and other Three on the Bombay ships, the manner those Companies are to be employed and consequently the Destinations of our said ships, fall under the particular directions of our Secret Committee, who will give the necessary Information wherever they shall think fit.

As we think it right that the Establishment of our Artillery Companies should be as near as possible conformable to His Majestys,

and having given Commands for that purpose to our other Presidencies We now do the same to you, and it is accordingly hereby ordered and directed that instead of the Establishment of the Company at Fort William directed in our General Lettter of the 15th December, 1752, That the said Company of Artillery be composed of the following officers and Private Men with the Pay hereunder mentioned viz.

A Captain	...	at Two hundred Pounds a year.
One Captain Lieutenant	..	One hundred and Nine Pounds ten Shillings a year.
One First Lieutenant	..	One hundred Pounds a year.
One Second Lieutenant	..	Ninety Pounds a year.
Three Lieutenant Fireworkes	..	Three Shillings a day each.
Three Serjeants	..	Two Shillings a day each.
Three Corporals	..	One Shilling and eight pence a day each.
Eight Bombardiers	..	One Shilling and six pence a day each.
Twenty Gunners	..	One Shilling and four pence a day each.
Sixty four Mattrosses	..	One Shilling a day each.
Two Drummers	..	One Shilling a day each

The Regulations and Rules laid down in our former Establishment of the 17th June 1748, are to continue in Force so far as is consistent with this New one ."

Apprehending that the French would exploit the confused state of affairs at Delhi, after the fall of Emperor Ahmad Shah in June 1754, to further their own interests at the cost of those of the English, the Court of Directors in England sent the following instruction to the Council in Calcutta in their letter, dated the 16th April, 1755: "A ship arrived a few days ago at Port 'L' Orient from Pondicherry by which the French are informed that the Mogul Emperor has been dethroned and a Prince of Royal Family placed in his stead, this is an Event, if true, that well deserves your attention and the best use must be made of it in conjunction with our other Presidencies, as well to secure our Trade Rights and Privileges as to prevent as much as lies in your power the Artful Designs of the French at Delhi in procuring grants to the prejudice of this Company."

Additional information and advice regarding Anglo-French hostilities were sent to Bengal by the Court of Directors in paragraph 17 of their letter, dated the 10th October, 1755. "Our principal view," they noted therein, "in dispatching the *Delawar* so early was to give Information to you as well as to Our other Presidencies, That Hostilities are commenced between the British and French Nations in America, That a great number of French ships have been already and are continued to be taken in Europe by our Men of War, but none of them have been yet condemned nor have Commissions been issued for Privateers or any Letters of Mart granted here, there is no Account that the French have issued Letters of Mart or Reprisals, nor have they taken any British Ships that we know of, except the *Blanford Man of War* of Twenty Guns, which has been since restored by order of the Court of France, as yet there has been no Declaration of War made by either Nation; as likewise to inform you, that We have heard nothing from the French East Indian Company relative to the Provisional Treaty and Truce made in December last by Mr. Saunders on Our Part and Mr. Godehu on the part of the French for restoring Tranquility on the coast of Chromandel although We delivered the said Treaty, to the French Company's Commission then in England long ago as the beginning of last July upon Mr. Saunders' arrival on the Norfolk, This being the situation of Affairs, it is highly necessary and We accordingly order you to be strongly on your guard, and in constant readiness in every respect to defend our Estates, Rights and Privileges in all Events, you are to watch all the motions of the French and stand upon defence only, unless they shall commit hostilities against us, in which case you are to Act as shall appear, to be most for the Company's Interest".

Events were marching fast to precipitate the crisis in no time. "...hostilities are carred on", the Court of Directors narrated in their letter, dated the 3rd December 1755, "with vigour, in America, that our Men of War in Europe take all the French ships they meet with, of which great numbers now lay in the several ports of His Majesty's Dominions but none are yet condemned, No Declaration of War is made by either Nation, No Commissions for Privateers or Letters of Marque have been issued or Granted here, and far from any being issued by the French Court, all British Merchant ships are suffered to go in and out of their ports without Molestation, However

the French continue to exert themselves in increasing, with the utmost diligence, both their Land and Sea armaments, and have drawn down a great number of their Forces to their Coasts, and, it is generally believed are meditating some Grand Effort. On the other hand, the most vigorous measures are taken in England, to be prepared against all attempts, and it is with great pleasure the whole Nation sees the Parliament most heartily concurs therein with His Majesty * * *

We read in paragraph 128 of the Court of Directors' letter to Bengal, dated the 11th February, 1756, that the British Nation "were never better prepared to baffle their (of the French) Attempts, as well as protect its Honor and Trade than at this time both by Land and Sea Notwithstanding all this, no declaration of War is made by either Nation **". All British Merchant ships were suffered to go in, and come out of their Ports without any hindrance or Molestation until the end of last Month, when it is said All the English Vessels at Dunkirk (about Nine small ones in the whole) were stopt, but We do not hear whether the like has been done in the other Ports of that Kingdom, or that they have made any other Reprisals in Europe since the commencement of the present differences. It cannot well be imagined, that affairs will remain long in this Situation, therefore in all events you must stand well upon your Guard ." But very soon they were informed, as they noted in the next paragraph of the same letter, " that the French King's orders were Published at Dunkirk for all British Subjects to quit his Dominions before the 1st of next month, except such as may obtain his Permission to remain, another Edict was Published inviting his subjects to fit out Privateers promising a Premium of Forty Livres for every Gun and as much for every Man they take on board our (England's) Ships, with a further promise, that in case Peace should be concluded soon the King will purchase the said Privateers at their Prime Cost ".

When War was formally declared the Court of Directors despatched timely information about it to the Bengal and Madras Councils. In paragraphs 3 and 4 of their letter to the Bengal Council, dated the 29th December, 1756, they wrote : " From the Account We gave you in our Letters last season, of the situation of Public Affairs, an open War between the British and French nations might easily be foreseen, it has proved so in the Event, his Majesty having proclaimed War against France on the 18th May last, which was returned in a very

short time after on the part of the French King; some of His Majesty's Declarations are now sent for your Information; not but we have great reason to believe you will know it long before this reaches you by the Dispatches sent immediately overland by His Majesty's Ministers and Ourselves, or, by the Triton Man of War and Our own ships Prince Henry Packet, the first of which left England on the 17th of July, and the other on the 5th of August, both charged with the news of this important Event.

We make no doubt you have in consequences of the Information you have most probably received, concerted every necessary measure for the Defence of our Settlements and Property, and Security of Our Commerce; to the utmost of your power and Circumstances. We shall only add, that We shall greatly depend upon your care and Prudence for the future safety of Our valuable Settlements in Bengal. " They continued in paragraphs 25 and 26 of the same letter : " The French are making great Preparations at Port L' Orient for an expedition to the East Indies, according to the best Information We can at present get, it consists of Six Men of War of the Line, two Frigates and Eight Companys ships fitted in a warlike manner, on which are to embark about Two thousand and five hundred land Forces; to what particular part of India this Force is destined We cannot learn, We must therefore recommend it to you in the strongest manner, to be as well on your Guard as the nature and circumstances of your Presidency will permit, to defend our Estate in Bengal against any attempts that may be made upon it by this Force, and in particular, that you will do all in your power to engage the Nabab to give you his protection as the only and most effectual measure for the security of settlement and Property. We have the satisfaction of being further able to inform you that a Squadron of His Majesty's Ship will be soon Ready to Proceed to the East Indies, to continue there for a time in the room of that under Vice Admiral Watson, and although We are not at present full apprized of its Force, We have good reason to believe it will be sufficient to cope with the French Squadron.

What further occurs to us on this interesting Subject will be communicated to Our Select Committee of Fort St. George, who will have directions to forward to you whatever shall be necessary for your Information."

Reviews and Notices of Books.

NĀMA-RŪPA AND DHARMA-RŪPA by Maryla Falk, D. Litt.,

Published by the University of Calcutta, 1943, Pages IX + 222.

“ This essay in the study of ancient Indian structural ideologies was written in 1937 and was placed before the Polish Academy of Science (Oriental Commission) in February 1938, when its publication in due course under the care of that body was decided upon”. But owing to the unforeseen vicissitudes that overtook Poland the original plan was upset, and the work could see the light only in 1943 and that in Calcutta. The author is a very ardent student of Indian culture and has published previously several other tracts on various cognate topics in different continental languages. In the present work the attempt is made, on the basis of a searching study of Vedic and early Buddhist literature, to establish a close parallelism between the orthodox conception of nāma-rūpa and the Bauddha conception of dharma-rūpa. The chief points on which the thesis stands are: (1) That yoga as a practical esoteric method of the ascent of the individual consciousness to the absolute or cosmic consciousness was known from the days of the Ṛgveda downwards; (2) that the basic orthodox, as well as the Bauddha, philosophical schools represented the different attempts at yogic union of the individual with the Absolute; (3) that, studied in this light, the different orthodox and Bauddha words expressing the process of descent and differentiation of the cosmic into the individual and the ascent of the individual back to the cosmic would present striking similarity. While these points may be broadly accepted as sound, one would find it difficult to assent to the specific interpretations of words by which the authorities to equate nāma-rūpa to dharma-rūpa. The esoteric interpretation of Vāc as Brahman, the identification of nāma as an aspect of Vāc, and *contrasting it, as cosmic reality*, with rūpa as individual manifestation of it, and comparing nāma, in this sense of the cosmic, with the Buddhist concept of Dharma, conceived

as the absolute and ultimate, reality, may prove too great a strain on accepted meanings to find easy acceptance.

But on the whole the study shows a first-hand acquaintance with texts, sufficient esoteric insight and laudable enthusiasm for a re-orientation of the basic concepts in an original light. The Indian reader should feel scared neither by the involved Germanlike sentences of the Foreword, nor by the unfamiliar coinages (like 'soteriological', 'sustentation', 'apocatastasis'), nor mind slight deviations from English idioms (like 'we are said', 'the doctrine exposed in this chapter'). He should, on the contrary, feel thankful to the author for making this valuable piece of research accessible to him by writing it out in English, rather than in any continental language, less intelligible to him. India has a real cause for gratitude to the few European scholars, like these, who devote their lives to a sympathetic understanding of her culture.

Patna College,
15-10-44.

Dhirendra Mohan Datta.

“ NĀRĀYANRĀO PESHWĀ—YĀNCHA KHOON KI
ĀTMAHATYĀ ”

By P. G. RANADE

In 2 Volumes: pp 1312. Price Rs. 14.

These two Volumes covering 1312 pages have been written with an object of investigating position regarding alleged murder or suicide of Narayanrao Peshwa— an incident which was fraught with important results in Maratha history. A summary of author's argument is contained in an introduction sprawling over 198 pages written by Mr. S. B. Nagarkar. As clarified in the Kesari of the 8th December 1944 Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai should not be confused with one G. S. Sardesai whose opinion has been printed on pp. 199-201 of Volume I.

While there can never be an objection to holding views contrary to those which have gained currency, it must be noted that originality does not consist in flatly denying them to be false. Historians must aim at impartially weighing facts. Unfortunately this author has not shown any regard for scientific accuracy in expression of his views. It is not surprising that due to such a failure, his book is a tirade against Nana Pharanwis. As stated by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, Mr. Ranade has presented a gross distortion and misunderstanding of main facts bearing on Maratha history in the later half of eighteenth century. It may have been possible for him to have stated his conclusion more briefly and cogently had he not been bent on representing Nana Pharanwis as an evil genius directing Peshwa affairs. Undoubtedly, the more readable part is that dealing with analysis of circumstances leading to Narayanrao's death.

S. V. SOHONI.

*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society
held in the Society's office on Sunday, the 30th July, 1944.*

Present:—

1. The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.
(in the Chair).
 2. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.
 3. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.
 4. Khan Sahib Prof. S. H. Askari.
 5. Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta.
 6. Mr. Sham Bahadur.
- I. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 6th February, 1944.
 - II. Passed the Monthly Statement of Accounts from January to June 1944.
 - (b) Passed the Annual Statement of Accounts for the year 1943-44.
 - III. Passed the Revised Budget for 1944-45 (as amended) and the Budget Estimate for 1945-46.
 - IV. Passed payments of the following bills:—
 - (a) Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji's T. A. Bill to address the Annual meeting.—Rs. 85.
 - (b) Purchase of Persian Manuscripts.—Rs. 600.
 - (c) Indian Photo Engraving Co.'s Bill for plate in March issue.—Rs. 37-4-0
 - (d) Patna Law Press Bill for printing Journal—December issue 1943.—Rs. 701-10-0.
 - (e) Patna Law Press Bill for printing Annual Reports etc.—Rs. 58-11-0
 - (f) Patna Law Press Biill for printing Journal—March issue 1944.—Rs. 645-10-0
 - V. Resolved that the Government be requested to increase the Establishment grant to pay the Living Allowance. If Government allow this then it will be paid to the staff, otherwise the

present rate that is Rs. 8-8-0 to the office Pandit and Rs. 6-8-0 each to the peons will continue. Mithila Pandit's application is rejected as the Government have not sanctioned the Living Allowance.

To write a letter to the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga to the that effect that as the work on Mithila MSS. is to be shortly discontinued on account of stoppage of grant for this purpose, he may render some generous financial assistance to enable the Society to retain the services of the Mithila Pandit or may help this work with the services of one Pandit of his own.

VI. Resolved that Professors K. K. Datta and Khan Sahib S. H. Askari will decide the matter regarding the size of the Journal.

VII. Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected as ordinary members of the Society.—

- (a) Babu Suryya Prasad Mahajan, Banker and Zemindar, Gaya.
- (b) Miss Reva Mukherjee, B. A., M. A. Student, Patna College, c/o Deputy Director, Public Instruction.
- (c) J. M. Sen, Esq., M. A., Principal, Krishnagar College.
- (d) G. Ram Das, Esq., B. A., Jeypore, Vizgapatam.
- (e) Babu Tara Bhusan Mukherji, M. A., Research Scholar, Patna College.
- (f) Babu Vasishtha Narain Rai, Advocate, High Court, Patna.
- (g) Babu Gopikrishna Kanoria, Banker, Patna City.
- (h) J. Turner, Esq., General Manager, Reuters Limited, Bombay.

VIII. Resolved that the Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha be appointed Honorary Treasurer and Dr. Tarapada Chaudhury of the Sanskrit Department, Patna College, be appointed Honorary Librarian and Member of the Council in place of Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, retired.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary General Secretary.
31-7-1944.

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